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Stone and Copper-Plate Inscriptions of Travancore
with 5 plates

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No. 1—The rock-cut cave at Kaviyūr.

The *List of Antiquities* of the Travancore State compiled in manuscript by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has the following note against Kaviyūr, a village 4 miles north-east of Tiruvalla, the head-quarters of the taluk of the same name in the Quilon Dn.

“Besides the Śiva temple in the village, there is a rock-cut shrine dedicated to the same god in this place. From the sculptures in it, it could be assigned to the 7th century A. D. It has no inscriptions however.”

This place was therefore visited not only for an inspection of this ancient rock-cut temple, an architectural feature not so common in the West Coast, but also for the purpose of checking the inscriptions published on pages 288 and 289 of Volume I of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, with a view to fill in certain blank spaces left untranscribed in them. In the case of the latter, the *in situ* examination has yielded good results and the texts of the inscriptions, as now revised, have also been given below.

Before proceeding to describe the cave at Kaviyūr, it will not be out of place here to trace the genesis of cave architecture in South India and make a comparative study of this cave with similar excavations lying scattered elsewhere in the Madras Presidency.

It is a recognised fact in the history of South Indian temple architecture that rock-cut temples were an epoch-making innovation introduced by the great Pallava king Mahēndravarman I (600-630), a pre-eminent figure among the early sovereigns of that dynasty and a cultured patron of letters and art, himself the author of a burlesque in Sanskrit, who on conversion by saint Appar (Tirunāvukkaraiyar) from Jainism to the Śaivite cult exhibited his fervour by excavating temples in honor of the god of his new faith at several places within his dominions *viz.*, Trichinopoly, Pallāvaram, Māmunḍūr, Śiyamaṅgalam, Mahēndravāḍi¹ and Daḷāvanūr. In one such unfinished cave excavated perhaps under his personal supervision at Maṇḍagappattu in the Chingleput District, he has boasted of his achievement in the following inscription:—

एतदनिष्टकमद्भुतममलोहमसुधं विचित्रचित्तेन निर्मापितन्नुपेण ब्रह्मेश्वरविष्णुलक्षितायतनम् ।²

and has, here and elsewhere, complimented himself with the titles ‘*Vichitrachitta*’ (the original-minded) and ‘*Chitrakārapuli*’ (*chaityakārapuli*? the excavator of *chaityas* or cave-temples), two *birudas* which he had deservedly earned on account of the new style of temples which his genius was able to introduce in South India. The negations specified in the description of the cave at Maṇḍagappattu presuppose the existence, before the time of this king, of temples which were usually

1. Compare: कवितं गुणभरेण विदार्य शिलाम् । (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 153.)

2. *Mahēndravarman Inscription*, page 2.

constructed of brick, timber, metal and mortar; and it is due to the impermanent nature of these building materials that no such temples constructed prior to the seventh century are extant now in their entirety. The discovery of a detached pillar of the cave-pillar type set up in a *maṇḍapa* in the Ēkāmrānātha temple at Conjeeveram¹ and containing several indisputable titles of this Pallava king, goes also a long way to confirm the above statement that earlier structural temples even in his own reign were of perishable material in which granite did not preponderate and that the Maṇḍagappattu cave temple was perhaps the first of its kind excavated by him in South India on the model, presumably, of the caves at Uṇḍavalli and Bezvada in the north.

The rock temples excavated by this king present certain common features in plan and design which enable us to fix their authorship without great difficulty, and they have therefore been classified by Dr. Dubreuil of Pondicherry under one group called 'the Mahēndra style'. They have an unornamental façade which is generally the eastern or western face of the rock in which they are cut and, on plan, show a small square chamber for the location of the presiding deity and a rectangular hall in front, the roof of which is supported by rock-cut pillars and pilasters of a peculiar ungainly type called the 'cave-pillars'. These solid pillars hewn out of the rock consist of three sections, the top and bottom portions being in the form of cubes about 2' in dimension each side, while their middle portions are short shafts with chamfered corners and an octagonal section obtained by bevelling off the angles of the cubical portions; *i. e.* they are combination pillars of the *brahmakānta* and the *viṣṇukānta* varieties. The faces of the upper and lower cubes are bare, but are also sometimes ornamented with medallions of conventional lotuses resembling those found on the Buddhist rails. These pillars have no separate capitals and are surmounted by simple brackets or corbels whose ends which are rounded upwards, are either bare or sometimes decorated with horizontal rows of roll ornament. The massive and rather uncouth proportions of these pillars suggest that they were tentative experimentations in pillar-chiselling, while the pioneer architects of the rock excavations were apprehensive as to the proper pillar strength necessary to support the enormous load of solid granite above; but with increased experience and training the southern craftsmen evolved in the succeeding styles of cave temples well-designed pillars (probably after wooden models), which though they missed the antique architectural effect and stability of the earlier type were decidedly of greater elegance and of better proportions. The rectangular hall in front of the sanctuary sometimes contains one or more panels of excellent sculpture representing some puranic theme Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava without great distinction. The central shrine in the excavations of Mahēndravarmān's time is a square chamber with plain undecorated walls, enshrining a cylindrical *līṅga* hewn out of the rock with a *yōni*-pedestal of the usual type. Two *dvārapālas* guard its entrance, each one standing in a niche on either side of the doorway and leaning on a sinister-looking bludgeon, his staff of office. The floor of the hall of the cave is raised a few feet above the natural ground level and is reached by a flight of three or four rock-cut steps, and the central shrine is again slightly more elevated than this hall. In front, the two-feet-wide verandah is generally sheltered by a heavy projecting cornice also cut out of the rock either

1. *Ibid.* page 6.

plain or decorated with the 'dormer-window' ornament. This, in short, is a typical excavation of the great Mahēndravarman's time.

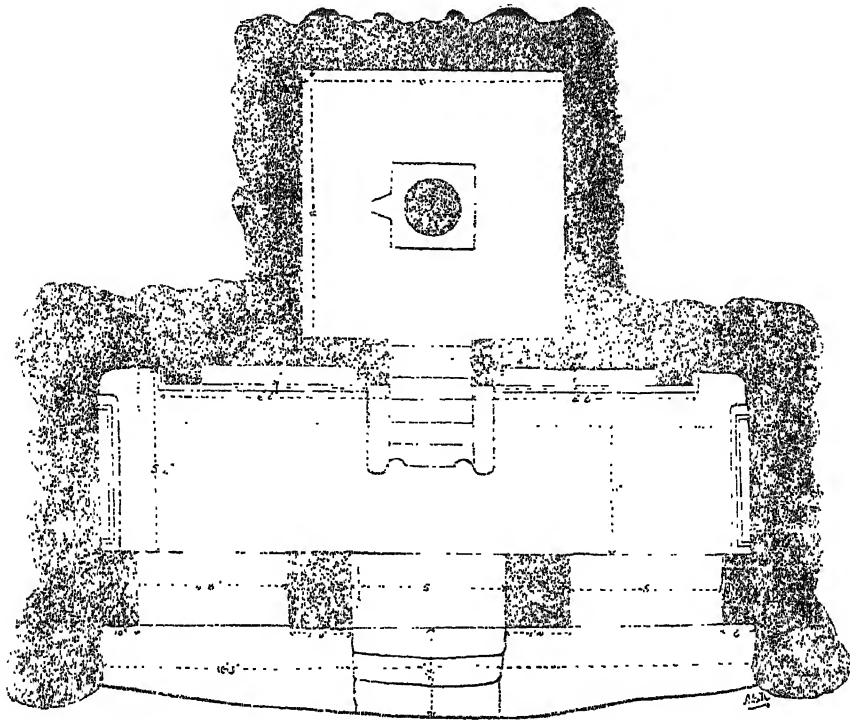


Fig. 1.

The Kaviyūr cave whose site plan is given above presents many points of similarity to the early type of rock-cut temples just now described. In common with the generality of Pallava excavations of Mahēndravarman's time, this cave has the usual orientation of a Śiva's shrine, its entrance facing west, the direction of the setting sun: and the cave has therefore been scooped out in the eastern of two massive boulders fronting each other and separated by a fissure nearly 15' wide, on the summit of a low hillock of a friable variety of rock and debris, that raises its head above the surrounding coconut plantations, half a mile to the north of the principal Śiva temple of the village. The rock is of a coarse texture and the cave and the sculptures in it have therefore easily lent themselves to decay on account of the disintegrating action both of age and the weather. The wall surfaces and other portions have not been dressed with precision and neatness as in the case of excavations in closer-grained rock.

The floor of the cave is a few feet above the natural ground level and is approached by a flight of three crude steps hollowed out of the rock itself. In front is a narrow verandah $2\frac{1}{2}'$ wide unprotected by the usual convex cornice moulding, and two grooves have therefore been cut at the ends of the top to receive a long wooden beam spanning the width of the cave, from which a temporary sunshade could be projected in timber or other cheaper material. The cave is 19' 8" broad and $8\frac{1}{2}'$ high.

Two pillars 8' 8" in height divide the breadth of the cave into three openings two of which are each 5' broad, while that on the proper right is

slightly smaller, being only 4' 8". The two pillars are of the early Pallava cave-type but their bottom and top portions do not form perfect cubes, as the pillars slightly taper upwards. The top block measures 1' 7" by 2' 2" and is 1' 4" in height, while the bottom portion is slightly bigger in dimensions being 1' 10" by 2' 2" and 2' 10" in height. The octagonal shaft is 3' 3" high and its facets vary from 7" to 9" in width. The simple corbels which surmount these pillars are 2' 3" deep and their ends which are turned upwards are decorated with a slight variant of the usual roll ornament in horizontal rows. To balance the view of the façade there are two pilasters at either extremity of the opening, the one on the proper right being 8" in projection and the other nearly 10".

The central shrine is a square cell measuring 8' each side and has a level ceiling whose height is slightly less than that of the other portions of the cave. This chamber is absolutely devoid of ornamentation and enshrines in its centre a cylindrical rock-cut *linga* whose crude *yōni*-pedestal is a separate piece slipped on to it through its socket. The door-jambs and sill of the entrance appear to have been replaced at a later date after the original portions of the rock-cut entrance had perhaps deteriorated.

The rectangular hall in front of this sanctum measures 19' 8" by 5' and contains, one on either side of the doorway, two niches 6' 5" broad and 6' 3" high mounted on 2 feet pedestals of the ordinary variety consisting of three rows of plain band ornament. The niches are flanked by pilasters each 11" broad and 6' 3" high, which support at their tops double brackets surmounted by a plain architrave contiguous to the ceiling. The niche to the left of the entrance contains a life-size figure of a *dvārapāla*, who is limb for limb a replica of the door-keeper guarding the entrance at the left in the Mahendravarman cave at Trichinopoly. His head dress is tall and conical and from beneath it his locks fall in picturesque curls on his shoulder. He leans with an aggressive attitude on a formidable club round which a cobra has entwined itself. He wears no *gañḍōpavīta* and the ornaments that adorn him are the *karnakundalā*, the *hriṇmālā*, the *vācarabanḥa*, the *bāhualaya*, and the *āruṣūtra*. The corresponding figure in the other panel is not a duplicate of this door-keeper, as one would expect to find, but cuts a different pose. He has his hands crossed on his breast and stands with head slightly bent, in a respectful attitude of attention. He wears his hair in a tangled mass knotted in the middle (*jatāmakūṭa*) and the ornaments that decorate his person are the same as those of his comrade on his right. But though he does not wield the club, the insigne of his calling as gate-keeper, he has to be identified as such in as much as these personages are always represented in pairs in front of Śiva and Viṣṇu temples. It is a point worth noting that both these chamberlains are tall, well-knit figures with only two muscular hands—an anatomical feature characteristic of early sculptures.

The northern and southern wings of this hall also contain respectively a well-executed image of Gaṇeśa with four hands and a standing life-size figure of a bearded man. It may be noted that a similar rock-cut Śiva temple at Arittapatti in the Melūr taluk of the Madura District also contains an image of Gaṇeśa in one wing of the porch in front of the *garbhagriha*. As for the individual with the



VIEW OF THE ROCK CUT CAVE AT KAVIYUR.



DETAIL OF SCULPTURE IN THREE OF ITS PANELS.

peaked beard his identity cannot well be established in the absence of any elucidative labels or inscriptions in the cave itself. He wears his hair in the top-knot fashion peculiar to the west coast and his pendulous ears which are much damaged, show indications of having once been decorated with ear rings. He has no *ya-jñōpavīta*, but wears only a lower cloth hanging up to his shins in the orthodox mode. His feet are broken off at the instep on account of the decomposition of the coarse-grained rock. He keeps his arms akimbo, and his left hand which rests on his hip, also holds a jug-like vessel with an oval body, a long stoppered neck and a short thick spout. The shape of this vessel is peculiar unlike that of its modern counterpart, the *giṇḍi*, the popular utensil in every Malayāli household and reminds one curiously of a Greek vase or a Mughal hukka, with which specimens however it could never have had an affinity whatsoever. As the image represented cannot be that of any divinity known to iconography, it may be presumed that it stands for a portrait-statue of perhaps the author of the cave itself; but the question as to who and what he was, whether he was a royal personage or a private individual, is a poser for the solution of which, the cave furnishes no clue except that from the general appearance and style of the excavation, one may not be far wrong in assigning it to the 8th century A. D. or thereabouts.

In this connection, it is worthy of consideration that stone epigraphs of Chēra kings are not found to the south of Tiruvalla and that even the neighbouring temples at Peruneyil and Tirukkadittānam, which are *structural* monuments of the circular *vēsara* type peculiar to Malabar, contain inscriptions of Bhāskara-Ravi-varman¹ of the end of the 10th century A. D., while the Śiva temple at Kaviyūr² itself, another notable example of the same type, contains two stone records dated so early as Kali 4051 and 4052, *i. e.*, A. D. 950-51. The cave-temple can therefore be presumed to have come into existence during Chēra rule at some date prior to this later limit. Popular tradition, here as elsewhere, attributes its excavation to supernatural agency and one such yarn, an obvious copy of the myth current at Rāmēśvaram regarding an identical incident, actually derives the name of the village Kaviyūr from Kapi, the monkey-god (Hanumān), who is stated to have installed a *liṅga* and constructed a temple here for his master's worship. Instances of similar fanciful derivations of place-names are not rare in the *sthala-purāṇas*; but it is extremely doubtful if Rama ever paid a visit to Kaviyūr in his southern perigrinations and requisitioned his aid-de-camp to bring a *liṅga* for his worship at that particular place. A rational explanation for the origin and date of the cave will be to suggest that it was excavated on the design of similar caves existing elsewhere in the Trichy, Madura and Tinnevely Districts, with which models the sculptor of the Kaviyūr cave may have been familiar. The Pallava king Narasimhavarman I (c.630-68) himself claims to have vanquished the Kēraḷas,³ and if this is not a mere boast, it will mean that this meeting may have served as an occasion for the knowledge of cave architecture of the earlier Pallava style to filter into the Kēraḷa country. It may also be noted that the Narasimha cave-temple⁴ at

1. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 33-49.

2. *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 288-89.

3. Kuram plates, *S. I. I.* Vol. I, p. 152.

4. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 318.

Ānamalai in the Madura District came into existence in 770 A. D. excavated as it was by a minister of the Pāṇḍya king, Jaṭila-Parāntaka, and that the monolithic cave at Nānakkal in the Salem District within the old Chera dominions and called the Adiyendra-Vishṇugriha in a Pallava-Grantha inscription, is believed to have been constructed by an early Adigaimān chief by about the end of the 8th century.¹ Another rock-cut cave nearer home is the one at Tirunandikkarai within the State, whose age has been tentatively fixed² as the latter half of the 8th century from the palaeographical indications of the early Vatteluttu record engraved on a pillar therein. From all these premises, the Kaviyūr cave can also be assigned to the second half of the 8th century if not earlier, although a tendency to give it a slightly earlier age is justifiable from its close resemblance to early Pallava work.

No. 2—Revised Text of the Kaviyur Inscription of Kali 4052.³

- 1 ஸ்ரீ [II*] கலியுகம் துடங்கி நாலாயிரத்து அயம்பத்திராமாண்டு க-
வியூர் ஊரார் அவிர்ராதத்தால் முக்கால்வட்டத்துக் கூடி கொயிலு
முள்ளிருக்க மங்கலத்து நாராயணங் கெயவன் கிடங்குபறாஹன் தில-
தமங்கலத்தொடியும் எட்டிக்கரியில் அஞ்பதின் கலமுங் கொடுத்தா-
ன் [I*] மங்கலத்து நாராயணங் கிரிட்டன் கொடுத்த பூமி குமாரக்-
கொற்றக்கரி நூற்றுக்கலமும் ஈரை இளாகை 'நெட்டொடியில் நாலொ
ன்றும் ஈரைக்கு [இளா]த்துக்கு' அவகனிடைக் கொண்ட ஐம்பதின்
கலமும் திருக்கவியூர்த் தெவர்க்கு இரண்டு நந்தாவிளக்கும் அகத்து
பந்திரடிக்கு நானாழியரி திருவமீர்தும் உச்சிக்கு நாழியரி திருவககிர
மீரண்டு கலமு மிப்பூமியா லிருவரும்
- 2 அமைச்சார் [I*] இச்செலவும் இச்செலவினுக்கு அமைச்ச பூமியும் வில-
க்கப் பெறார் [I*] விலக்கு மூராளர் வெவ்வெற்று வகையால் பெரு-
மாளுக்கு ஐம்பத்திரு கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவது [I*] நாடுவா-
முமவர்க்கு இருபத்தைங் கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவது [I*] தா-
னமும் பரடையும் மூரான்(ம்)மைக்கு மிடையிடுங் கெட்டு மூழிக்களத்
தொழுக்கப்படி கச்சம் பிழைச்சாராவது [I*] விலக்குமவள்க் கனு-
பந்தம் பறையுமவள்கும் இத்தண்டமெ படுவது [I*] ஊராரவிர்ராத-
த்தால்க் கூடியு மிச் செலவு மற்றொன்றினுக்கு செலுத்திக்கப் பெ-
றார் [I*] 'இச்செலவெல்லா மொட்டித் தெயகாலத்து செலுத்தா
க்கால் முட்டிரட்டி செலுத்தக் கடவியர்'⁵ [I*] இப்பூமி எல்லாம் உழவு
மங்கலத்தவகள் தந்ததியில் மூத்தொரிருவரும் சிறைக்கரையில் மூத்த-
வனுங் கூடி அடுத்து பலம் முக்கால்வட்டத்து கொடுப்-
- 3 பிக்கக் கடவியர் [II*]

1. *Madras Epigl. Report* for 1906, p. 76.
 2. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III, p. 201.
 3. No. 1 of 1087 published in the *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 288.
 4, 5. The portions between inverted commas are engraved separately below the original inscription and had been left out. They are now tentatively inserted at these places.

No. 3—Revised Text of the Kaviyur Inscription of Kali 4051.¹

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [||*] கவியுசுந் துடங்கி நாலாயிரத் [து*] அம்பத்தொரர மா-
ண்டு திருக்கவியூர் பட்டாரக [ர்*] க்கு மகிழஞ்செரித் தெவன் செந்நன்
திருவிளக்குந் திருவமிருதுந் திருவக்கிரமூந் திருச்சந்நணமூந் திருப்பு-
கையு மமச்சான் [||*] விளக்கினுக்கு உரி நெய்யும் இருநாழி அரித்
திருவமிர்தும் புகையரமண்ணினுற் செல்விது [||*] தெவன் செந்ந
மைச்ச காராளரார் செலித்திச்ச கொள்ளக்கடவியர் [||*]
2. ஊராள செந்நன்கரி திருவக்கிரத்தின்னு குடிசுறு சந்தனத்தின்னு புகை-
க்கு சிறுபுனயில்தலை சாத்தன் கூறு அமைச்சான் [||*] மூழிக்களத்து
கச்சத்தொடொக்கும் |—

No. 4—Copper-plate record of a Ramnad Setupati: Kollam 945.

The subjoined Tamil record is engraved on both the sides of a single copper plate kept in the Palace Chellamvagai at Trivandrum. It measures 10" x 5" exclusive of an ornamental projection at the middle of the top of the plate, which is 4" broad and 2.5" high and through the centre of which has been bored the ring-hole of the plate. The writing on the sheet is in the Tamil alphabet of the latter half of the 18th century in which the record is also dated, except for one line of writing in Telugu in the middle of the first side, the sign-manual of the Sētopatis, viz., ஸ்ரீராமநாமஸபாவிஸஹாயம் (Śrī-Rāmanāthasvāmi-sahāyāṁ), Telugu having been first introduced into official routine and in the sign-manual by Vijayaraghunātha-Sētopati (1647-72).¹ The inscription contains both the Śaka date 1691 and its Kollam equivalent 945 which corresponded to the year Virōdhi, and the astronomical details furnished therein work out to A. D. 1769, Novr. 5.

The record registers the sale-deed given by Muttu-Rāmalinga Vijayaraghu-nātha Sētopati Karttadēvar to the Travancore king Śrī Padmanābhādāsa Vañchi Bālarāma-varma-Kulaśēkharapperumāl Mahārāja, in respect of the sale for 4000 *varāhaṇ* of the village of Kākkūr, which was afterwards presented by the latter to the temple of Rāmanāthaswāmin at Rāmēśvaram for conducting a service

1. No. 2 of 1087 published in the *T. A. S.* Vol. I, p. 289.
2. One other inscription in the Śiva temple is engraved on a pillar in the *surru-mandapa* and records that the pillar was the gift of a certain Bhāṭṭāṭiri of Vēlitturutti. It is in Mala-yalam characters and reads as follows:

- 1 வெஜ்ஜினு-
- 2 கணி ஸ்த-
- 3 திரி பணி-
- 4 வெஜ்ஜினு
- 5 ஸ்ரீஸ் ஹ [||*].

3. *Sendamūl*, Vol. VI, page 45.

(*kattalai*) to the god in his name. While this deed was drawn up, the Sētopati is stated to have been present in (the place called) *Viraiyādagandaṇ* to the east of *Kāttūr* *alias* *Kulōttuṅgaśōlanallūr*, a village in *Togavūr-kūṛram*. *Kulōttuṅgaśōlanallūr* and *Viraiyādagandaṇ* were two of the many places which the *Ramnad* chiefs used as their headquarters. Of these the latter is in the *Rājasiṅgamaṅgalaśekharam* in *Śetu-nāḍu*.¹

We learn² that on the death of *Śella-Tēvar* *alias* *Vijayaraghunātha-Sētopati* in 1760 A. D. his nephew *Muttu-Rāmaliṅga Vijayaraghunātha-Sētopati*, the infant son of *Muttutiruvāy-Nāchchiyār*, who had been perhaps adopted³ by his uncle was placed on the throne under the regency of his mother helped by the able *Daḷavāy Dāmōdaram Piḷḷai*.⁴ The prince must have been only about ten years of age at the time of this epigraph. Another copper-plate record of his, dated in Śaka 1693, has been registered as No. 7 of the *Madras Epigraphical collection* for 1910-11, where as here, he has been decorated with a number of high-sounding and fanciful titles, many of which appear to have been copied from the long lists of similar attributes prefacing the later *Vijayanagara* grants. Some of these, however, such as *Tēvainagarādhipaṇ* (the lord of *Tēvai-nagara*) *Ravikulasēkharan* (the crest-jewel of the Solar race), *Hanumatētanan* and *Garuḍakētanan* (the bearer of the *Hanumān* and *Garuḍa* flags) were also borne by his predecessors. This *Sētopati* has been called *Muttu-Rāmaliṅga Vijayaraghunātha-Sētopati Kāttadēvar* in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* noticed above, but the last component of this title must correctly be *Karttalēvar* instead of *Kāttadēvar*. The *Sētopatis* held the subordinate position of vassals of the *Madura Nāyakas* who were themselves the *Governors* of the southern provinces of the *Vijayanagara Empire*, such as it was at that time. The *Nāyakas* did not assume any independent royal titles, but were content with being called '*Karttākkaḷ*' (Skt. *kartā*=an agent or representative), which Dr. Caldwell has rendered into the English equivalent of 'High Commissioner'. The *Sētopatis*, who were appointed by these *Nāyakas* as *Pālaiyakkārār* on military tenure for the collection of revenue and the maintenance of peace and order in the neighbouring disaffected regions, must have also styled themselves as '*Karttākkaḷ*'. *Dēva* is also the hereditary title of the *Maravas*.

In his *Madura Manual*, Nelson has abstracted from *Ponnusvami-Tēvar's Memorandum* some interesting data which explain, with a show of plausibility, the origin of some of these *birudas* and their significance. The appointment of *Toṇḍiyintura-kāvalaṇ* (the warden of the *Toṇḍi*⁵ harbour) appears to have been conferred on *Ativīra Raghunātha-Sētopati* for his help against the *Chōḷas*, who had invaded the *Pāṇḍya* country; while the privileges of raising the *Hanumān* and the *Garuḍa*-banner seem to have been conceded by the *Vijayanagara* kings for

1. *Sendamiz*, Vol. II, p. 34.

2. *Sewell's List of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 231.

3. *Vide* the title '*Raghunātha-Sētopati-ramśōddhārakarāṇa*' in line 30 of the text.

4. The hero of the Tamil poem called the '*Vēḷvikkōvai*'.

5. *Toṇḍi* is a harbour to the east of *Madura* and to the north of *Ramnad* and it was famous in ancient days for its seaborne trade. It is different from its namesake on the West Coast called the *Kuṭṭuvāṇ-tonḍi* (*Kaḍalunḍi*).

distinguished field service against their Muhammadan foes. The Sētopatis won also the title of '*Chōlamanḍala-pratishṭhāpanāchārya*' by driving out the Telugu enemies of the Chōlas in the capacity of Pāṇḍya vassals; while a later scion of that family assumed the title '*kaṇḍanāḍu-koṇḍu-koṇḍanāḍu-koḍādān*' (he who conquers countries seen and never lets go the conquered territories) in commemoration of his decisive victory over the Chōlas, whom he had pursued into their own dominions annexing Paṭṭukkōṭṭai and Arantāṅgi. This latter title was also borne by the kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty together with many others, among which the sporting epithet '*ajajarēṭṭai-kaṇḍarūṭṭi*' (who witnessed the elephant-hunt) was a special *bīruda* affected by Devarāya II. Muttu-Krishnappa-Nāyaka of Madura (1602-09), who is credited with the revival of the dynasty of the Ramnad Sētopatis and with the installation of Śaḍayaka-Tēvar on that throne in 1604 A. D., is stated to have given him a considerable slice of land comprising the present districts of Ramnad and Śivagaṅga, with the express obligation that he should keep in check the turbulent Marava chiefs who harassed and blackmailed the pilgrims journeying to the holy island of Rāmēśvaram: and from that time at least, if not earlier from the days of Rāma himself who is believed by the Ramnad Chiefs to have first appointed them as Sētopatis (the guardians of Sētu), they have assumed the titles '*Sētumūlārakṣhā-dhurandhara*' and '*Rāmanāthasvāmikārya-dhurandhara*'. The Rāmēśvaram temple itself contains the effigies of many of the members of this dynasty. The epithets '*Pāṇḍimanḍala-sthāpanāchārya*' (establisher of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom) and '*tālikku-vēli*' (the fence round i.e., protector of the Queen's marriage-badge) were bestowed on Tirumalai Raghunātha-Sētopati (1647-72) by the great Tirumalai-Nāyaka supplemented by the gift of the three large villages of Tiruppūvaṇam, Tiruchchulī and Paḷḷimaḍam, in gratitude for the prompt and powerful aid that this chief rendered him in A. D. 1659 in routing the Mysore army in its notorious 'hunt for noses' and in saving Madura¹ from utter ruin at the hands of her vengeful foe. He was also called '*Daḷasiṅgam*' and is the hero of the *Daḷasiṅgamālai* of Aḷagiya-chirrambala-Kayirāyar of Mithilaip-paṭṭi. Another Raghunātha-Sētopati, better known by the more popular sobriquet of Kiḷavaṇ-Sētopati, who was mainly instrumental in killing the Muhammadan adventurer Rustum-Khan, was awarded the title of '*pararājakēśari*' or '*pakaimannarśiṅgam*' by Chokkanātha-Nāyaka; while similar help against the Muhammadan invaders of Madura earned for the Ramnad chiefs the title of '*tulukkar-ḍala-vibhaṭaṇ*' and '*tulukkar-mōham-tavirttāṇ*'. Many of the other remaining embellishments are more poetic than significant, more the flattering compliments of court poets than meaningful titles deservedly earned. The conflict in which this Muttu-Rāmalinga-Sētopati was engaged with the combined forces of the Nawab of the Karnatic and the East India Company in 1773, his defeat and incarceration for seven years in Trichinopoly and his subsequent re-installation in 1780 A. D. are facts of later history with which our record has no connection. It may however be noted that it was this Sētopati who finished in A. D. 1769 the third *prākāra* of the Rāmēśvaram temple which was begun by Muttu-Raghunātha in A. D. 1740.

1. மனுக்கோடி காத்து மதுரையும் காத்து வளருந்தெய்வத்
தனுக்கோடி காத்தவ னேரகு நாத தளங்கமே.—*Daḷasiṅgamālai* (*Sendamiz*, Vol. IV, p. 49).

1. In the expression வ ஹிவாஹராவலகைகாருடேவாஹேராவாள் occurring in U. 32 and 50 of the record, it is possible to consider வாஹ as a mistake for வாஹ and take it along with வ ஹி so as to mean 'the king or protector of (the town of) Vañchi as in the instances:

and take the king's name to be simply Rānavarman in Kollam 945. In *Rānavarmayaśāstribhāṣanam*, however, the following expressions are used:

2. *Vide* footnote above.

3. The Treaty of Cochin, *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I. p. 371.

4. *State Manual*, Vol., I. p. 390.

5. *Rāmavar mayasobhushanam* calls him indifferently by both the names and must have been composed early in the king's reign.

6. श्रीपद्मनाभदासवस्त्रिपालकुलशेखररामवर्मणो भागिनेयेन सङ्गीतादिकलाभिज्ञेन रामवर्मनामधेयेन युवराजेन निबद्धमभिनवं रुक्मिणीपरिणयं नाम नाटकम् । He must be the prince referred to as 'भागिनेयस्वनामः' in the *Bālarāmabharatam*.

7. *State Manual*, Vol. I. p. 379.

The first attribute namely Padmanābhādāsa, 'the servant of lord Padmanābha', assumed by the sovereign in this inscription is in conformity with what is recorded of him in his book¹ referred to above, *viz.*, that in the presence and with the implied consent of his brother Ravivarman and nephew, his namesake, he gave away his kingdom to god Padmanābha, while he contented himself to rule it in His name and as His servant. Although the king has called himself as Bālarāma-varman except in one instance² and has named his work as *Bālarāma-bharatam*, it is evident that he refers by the expression 'भागिनेयः स्वनामा' to his nephew Rāma-varman (Aśvati-Tirunāl) and not to his grand-nephew Bālarāma-varman II (Aviṭ-ṭam-Tirunāl) for the reason, that the latter who was born in Kollam 957 (1782) stepped into the *yuvārāja's* shoes only after the death of the elder claimant Aśvati-Tirunāl in Kollam 963, and that by this time Ravivarman, the king's younger brother (evidently the Makayiram-Tirunāl of the Genealogical Table), who was present at the dedication ceremony had died in Kollam 961.³ This work must have been composed by the king in the early years of his reign between 934 and 940 when he was still known by the more familiar name of Bālarāma-varman, although he may have discarded the prefix 'Bāla' after his coronation, *tulābhāra* and *hiraṇyagarbha* ceremonies which he has referred to in his work⁴ and which are known to have been celebrated during the regime of the minister Mārttāṇḍa Pillai Daḷavāy (Kollam 934-39).⁵

It may be noted that an *ōlai* document⁶ in the Travancore Vernacular Records Office distinctly states that the dedication of the Travancore State to god Padmanābha was made in Kollam 925 in the reign of Vīra-Bālamārttāṇḍavarman himself; and as there is nothing improbable in it, the statement of the *Bālarāma-bharatam* which claims the achievement for its author Bālarāma-varman has to be considered in the light of a confirmatory repetition of the original dedication by Bālamārttāṇḍavarman, which ceremonial the dutiful nephew went through perhaps at the time of his coronation within the first four or five years of his reign, in the company of the two princes of his family who were living at the time, namely his brother Ravivarman (Makayiram-Tirunāl) and nephew Rāma-varman (Aśvati-Tirunāl).

This king is reported to have undertaken a pilgrimage to the holy island of Rāmēśvaram in his sixtieth year in Kollam 959⁷ and that in addition to the fulfilment of this religious visit incumbent on every devout Hindu, he also satisfied

1. तदनुजरविवर्मा भागिनेयः स्वनामा
स्वयमपि स तु वञ्चिष्मापतिश्चैकभावः ।
सकलमुवनभारं पद्मनाभाय दत्त्वा
मनुपतिकुलभूषे स्वामिभृत्यस्वभावः ॥ — *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 110.
2. श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरवञ्चिभूषो
विद्वत्प्रियो निखिलसूरिगणेशाय नमः । — *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 107.
3. *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 333 and 385.
4. श्रीपद्मनाभपुरतस्त हिरण्यगर्भ-
दानं तुलापुरुषदानमजस्रदीक्षः । — *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 108.
5. *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 370.
6. *Vide infra*.
7. *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 385.

his thirst for knowledge about the administration of the neighbouring dominions, which helped him much in effecting considerable improvement in the material prosperity of his own subjects. The donation registered in the present record is however 14 years earlier than the date of the royal tour of pilgrimage mentioned above.

In the *Āryavana-māhātmyam* which is a Sanskrit work composed in honor of god Śāsta at Āryankāvu, the halfway halt of the earlier days in the heart of the Ghat jungles on the pass connecting Travancore with the plains of Tinnevely and now a station on the Quilon-Shencotta railway, this king is stated to have constructed good roads for the pilgrims resorting to that famous temple, to have policed the ill-reputed jungles which harboured many lawless brigands and wild animals and to have generally attended with parental care to the welfare of his subjects. Although the *purāṇa* under reference is, as usual with religious literature of this type, written in a mythical style as having been narrated by sage Agastya to his wife Lōpāmudrā and professes to be an excerpt from the *Skānda-purāṇa*, there are some indications to show that it may have been composed during the reign of the king himself, if not later. A few relevant verses are extracted below,¹ and it is noteworthy that this work also indirectly refers to the dedication of the dominions to god Padmanābha.

The language of the inscription is Tamil which is free from errors of composition, but mistakes in spelling and the introduction of Grantha letters in purely Tamil words and *vice versa* are largely noticeable. Sanskrit words have also suffered from wrong orthography in many instances and the corrected equivalents of some of them have been given in the foot-notes, where necessary.

The proper names occurring in the record are all mentioned among the boundaries of the village of Kākkūr and they have to be looked for in Ramnad

1. अधुना श्रूयते तत्र महारण्येऽपि दुर्गेमे ।
 रामेण पृथ्वीपतिना मार्गश्च सुगमः कृतः ॥
 मण्टपा विविधास्तीरे निर्भरस्य कृतास्तथा ।
 क्षेत्रं च निर्मितं दिव्यं हरहयोर्महात्मनोः ॥
 अरण्यपत्तनग्रामसहितञ्च तदद्भुतम् ।
 अनेकजनसंकीर्णं सर्वलोकोपकारकम् ॥

Although king Rāma mentioned above is the hero of the *Rāmāyana* to suit the puranic background of the *māhātmyam*, the real reference seems to be to his namesake Rāma-varma (A. D. 1758—98) about whom the following verses are noted—

- किञ्चान्यत्तस्य माहात्म्यं शृणुष्व श्राव्यमद्भुतम् ।
 श्रीपद्मनाभदासस्य चेरनृपस्य धीमतः ॥
 एतद्राज्यं समस्तञ्च पद्मनाभीयमेव तु ।
 योगनिद्रेच्छुना तेन दत्तं राज्ञे पुरा प्रिये ॥
 तस्य शास्तुर्वैलेनैव केरळेशोऽत्र भूयत् ।

व्याघ्रादि भीतिं सर्वेषां मनुष्याणाम्निराकरोत् ॥ — These stray verses are from the chapter called *Rāmachērasamāgamah*.

district. They are Taṭātakai-nāḍu (perhaps named after goddess Mīnākshī, Taṭātakai-pirāṭṭiyār), the sub-division in which Kākkūr was situated, Gadaiyaṅ-kaṇmāy, Karumaḷa-kaṇmāy, Karuśal-kuḷam, Pūnda-kuḷam, among the names of the tanks and Kumārakuruchchi and Mudukuḷattūr among the names of places. Tokavūr-kūṇṇam¹ is one of the seven sub-divisions into which the Kāna-nāḍu, which extended as far as Toṇḍi and Kālaiyārkōyil, was split up from olden days, while Kāna-nāḍu was again a district of Paṇṇi-nāḍu, the tract of land lying between the Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa kingdoms.

Text.²

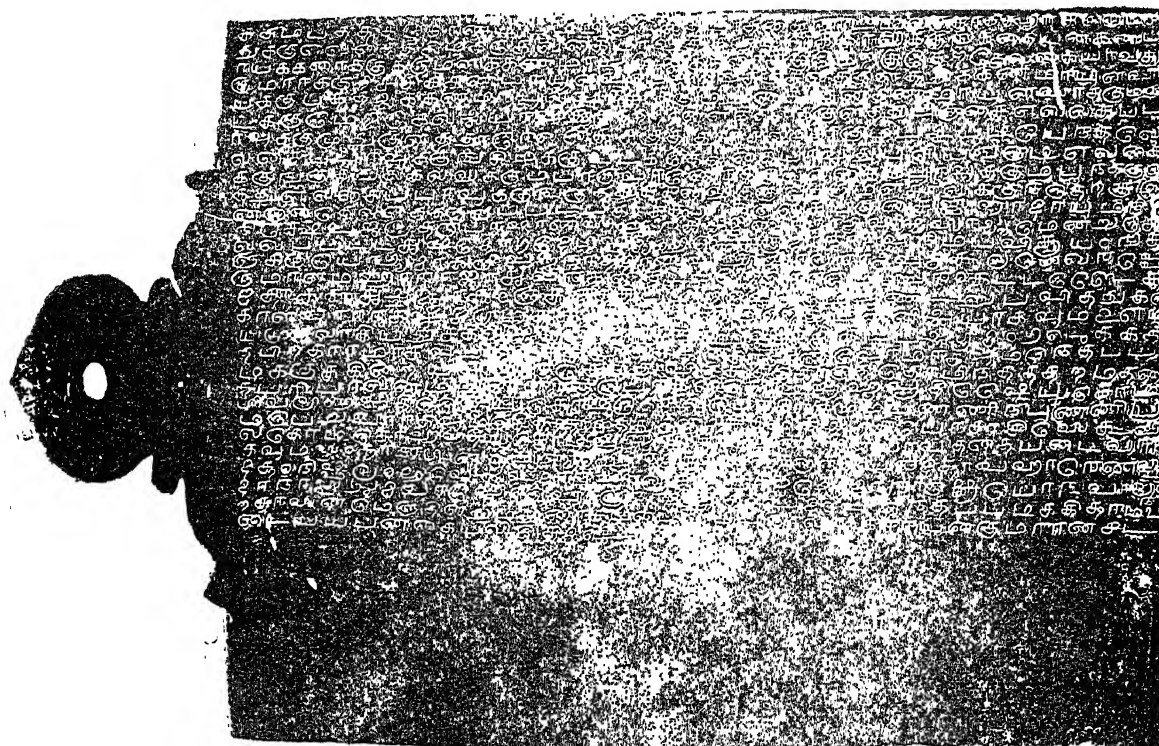
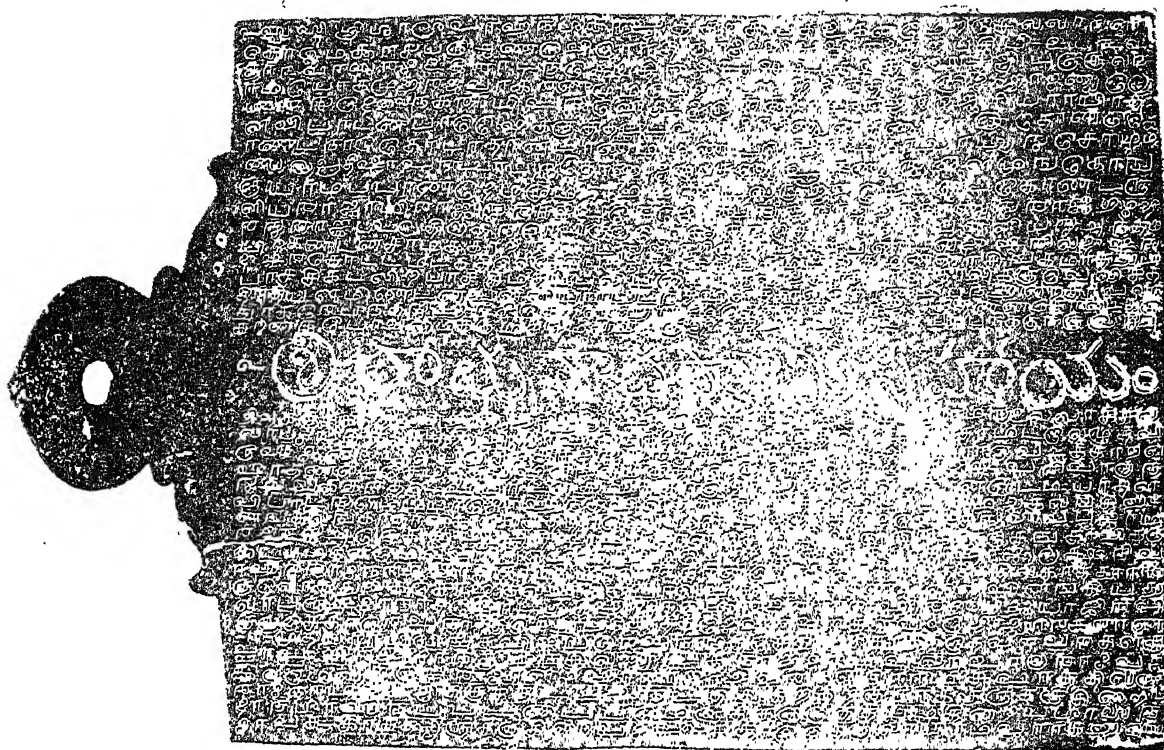
First-side.

- 1 உவ்வதி ஸ்ரீ [மீ] ஸாஸீவாஹத ஸகாஸு [மு*] துசுராகாக உதன்மெற் செ-
ல்லாதின்ற
2 கொஹீம் கூசமிந் ஆண்டு விரோதிநாஜலாவஸுரடி சுற்பசி மீர் உரிந உ
3 ஹாதுவாவஸுரடி உத்திராடந (௨) கூத்திரடி வலிவடிவகூத்தது ஸுபதிபுஞ்
சூலந-
4 ராமபொகழு மரஜவாஃகரணமும் பெற்ற ஸுஹதித்தில் ஸ்ரீஹாஜணுநெ-
5 ஸுரநு 4 செவெவதகராயிவநு ஸெதுஜிதிரகூதாயுரநுரநு ஆரியராயிரத-
6 ளிபாடன் பாஷைக்குத்தப்புவராயிரகணுன் கணுநாடும் கொண்டு கெ-
7 ண்டநாடு கொடாதான் பாண்டிமண்டலவூவநா அராயி-டிநு சொழம-
8 னுவுபுதிஷாவநா அராயி-டிநு தொணுணுலசணுவுசணுநு இளமுங்கொங்-
9 குபாழ்ப்பாணசெழுமும் எம்மண்டலமு [மீ*] 5 மஜவெட்டை கொண்டரு-
10 விய ராஜாயிராஜநு ராஜவ (௨) ரஜெஸுரநு ராஜகாதுணுநு ராஜமஜலீ-
11 ரநு 6 ராஜமுருதிருகநு இரவிருமுஸெவரநு சொரிமுத்துவன்னியநு7 அந்-
தம்-
12 பிறகண்டன்8 சாடிக்காறர்கண்டநு ஸூரிசெராஹியஹிண்டன் ஐஷுரிஸ்
ஐஷுநு
13 ஐஷுர்கொட்டமடக்கி இளஞ்சிங்கந் தளஞ்சிங்கம் பகைமன்னர்சிங்க
மாத்துப்-
14 பாச்சி கடலிற்பாச்சி மதப்புலியடைக்கலங்காத்தான் தாலிக்குவெலி 9 சத்-

1. வெற்றிவாழ்கின்ற திருமீழலைக்கூற்றம் மிகுந்த முத்தூர்க்கூற்றம்
பத்தியான அரும்பூர்க்கூற்றம் பாரமான திருக்காளைக்கூற்றம்
முத்தமிழ்சேர் தொகுபூர்க்கூற்றம் முதன்மையான கொடுமுனூர்க்கூற்றம்
எத்திசையான இனையாங்குடிக்கூற்றம்— *Seidamāl*, Vol. XIII, p. 163.
2. Registered as No. 1 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.
3. The name of the *karana* (astrological division of the day) is *Gara* (elephant); *karana*.
4. Read தேவைநமராயிவநு, the lord of Tēvai-nagaram i. e., Rāmanāthapuram (according to the Dictionaries); but Tēvai has been correctly identified with Rāmēśvaram itself in a Tamil poem called the '*Tēvai-nūl*' of Palapaṭṭaḍai-Sokkavāṭṭappulavar, verses 226 and 248.
5. Read எம்மண்டலமும் கொண்டு மகிவெட்டை கண்டருளிய.
6. Read ராஜகௌதியாக.
7. வணங்காத தெவ்வைப் பொருமால் சொரிமுத்து வன்னியன் பென்
னணங்காரு மார்பன் ரகுநாதன்— *Oruturai-kōvaz*, verse 90.
8. கடந்தோய்தகளிற்றன்னந்தம்பரகண்டன் முத்து
வடந்தோய்தனத்தியர் வேள் ரகுநாதன்— *ibid*, v. 120.
9. Read மதுராயிவதி.

15. திராதியன்மிண்டன் வன்னியாட்டந்தவீளத்தான் தொண்டியந்திறை
காவலந்
16. துபதெப்தந்¹ சுமநுதெதனன்² மரபுதெதனன்³ விரிதெதனன்⁴
கொடைக்கு
17. சுதந்நு பொறுமைக்குய⁵ மல்லுக்குய⁶ வில்லுக்குளியந் பரிக்கு
மசு⁷ந்நு ஆ⁸
உ ஸ்ரீராமநாயகவாழிஸஹாய⁹
18. மவுக்குஆகத்தியன் வுததிறி¹⁰ந்நு விரவெண்பாமலை உபையலாம-
ர¹¹[நு*] உல்லாசசல்
19. லாபசங்கிதலாபுததிவிஜாவிநெத¹² திலததுதல்மடமாதர் மடலெழுதவ-
20. ரு¹³வ¹⁴ந் விஜபருகழிகாந்நு சுர¹⁵சராவணார¹⁶ந் அடியார்வெளைக்காந்ந்
21. விரதண்டைசெமத்தலை¹⁷ விளங்கு மிருதாளினன் துஷ்நிமுஹஜிஷ்வரி-
வாருந்
22. ந் துலுக்கர்தல-விபாடன் துலுக்காரொஹந்தவீளத்தான் ஓட்டியர்தள-
23. னிபாட்டு ஓட்டியர்¹⁸ஹந்தவீளத்தான் பரதளவிபாடன் மலைகலங்கினும-
24. னகலங்காதான் சன்னசத்திரவொம¹⁹ ஹு²⁰யொக²¹ஷெ²²ந்நு விலிவய-
லாயு²³
25. ரா²⁴ந் அநெக²⁵பு²⁶ஹு²⁷திஷாவகாரன் செம்பிவளநாடன் செங்காவிக்²⁸-
26. டையு மதின்தெல் விருதுவெண்கவரிபெற்றவன் வக²⁹லா³⁰ஜி³¹யுக³²-
நிவ³³
27. ரா³⁴ந் ரா³⁵நாயகவாழிகாய³⁶யு³⁷ர³⁸நா³⁹ந⁴⁰தொகலூர்க்குத்தத்தில் காத்தூ-
ரான
28. குலொத்துங்கசொழநல்லு⁴¹[நு*] கிள்பால் விரையாதகண்டனில் விளங்-
கய⁴²த-
29. லாபு⁴³ஷ⁴⁴நா⁴⁵திஷா⁴⁶பு⁴⁷ஹா⁴⁸தய⁴⁹ர⁵⁰நா⁵¹ந⁵² ஹிர⁵³ண⁵⁴ம⁵⁵ஹ⁵⁶பா⁵⁷ஜி⁵⁸ர⁵⁹வி-
30. கு⁶⁰செ⁶¹கர⁶²ர⁶³யு⁶⁴நா⁶⁵த⁶⁶செ⁶⁷து⁶⁸பதி⁶⁹ கர்த்த⁷⁰ஷெ⁷¹வ⁷²ர⁷³வ⁷⁴ர்க⁷⁵ள்⁷⁶ வ⁷⁷ஸ⁷⁸பா⁷⁹ஜா⁸⁰ர⁸¹க⁸²ரா⁸³ந
31. -ர- மு⁸⁴த்து⁸⁵ராம⁸⁶லி⁸⁷ங்க⁸⁸ வி⁸⁹ஜ⁹⁰ப⁹¹ர⁹²யு⁹³நா⁹⁴த⁹⁵செ⁹⁶து⁹⁷பதி⁹⁸ கர்த்த⁹⁹ஷெ¹⁰⁰வ¹⁰¹ர¹⁰²வ¹⁰³ர்க¹⁰⁴ள்¹⁰⁵
த¹⁰⁶ர-
32. வா¹⁰⁷வ¹⁰⁸வ¹⁰⁹ர¹¹⁰[வ*]நா¹¹¹த¹¹² கு¹¹³யீ¹¹⁴த¹¹⁵த்தில்¹¹⁶ ஸ்ரீ¹¹⁷வ¹¹⁸தீ¹¹⁹நா¹²⁰ஹ¹²¹ஹ¹²² வ¹²³ஹி¹²⁴ஷ¹²⁵பா¹²⁶ர¹²⁷ஹ¹²⁸ஜ¹²⁹உ-

1. Revanta, the son of Strya and Badavagni, was born riding on a white horse.
rule, तृतीयश्च रेवन्तोऽश्ववाहकः.
रेतसोऽन्ते च रेवन्तः खड्गी धन्वी तसुवृक् ।
अश्वारूढः समुत्पन्नो वाणतुणी समान्वितः ॥
2. "ரகுலெவ் சே¹நத்தனவாய் ரகுநாயகன்" — *Oruturairikkovai*, verse 39.
3. The sign-manual of the Rannad chiefs is engraved in Telugu in the middle of the plate, as Telugu was adopted as the court-language by Vijayaraghunāthia-Tirumala-Sētipati — *Sen-*
dham, Vol. VI, p. 45.
4. Read ஹா¹ஹி²த³த⁴.
5. சேம⁵த்தலை was the name of the anklet worn by Rannad chiefs.
6. Read ஸி⁶ஷ⁷வ⁸ரி⁹வா¹⁰ரு¹¹ந்.
7. A parasol dyed in red ochre was the state umbrella of Setupatis;
தா¹²வி¹³செ¹⁴மு¹⁵க்கு¹⁶டையான் ரகுநாயகன் and செங்க¹⁷வி¹⁸ய¹⁹ங்கு²⁰டையான் ரகுநாதன் — *Oruturairikkovai*.
8. குலங்கைக் கோண்ட விராமேசர் தான்முடி குடி and ஆரிய²¹ பேர²²ந்²³ மிராமேசர் தாளினைக் க-
சு²⁴பு²⁵வ²⁶ந்த²⁷.....ரகுநாதன் — *ibid.*, verses 2 and 69.



Scale: One-half.

- 33 கூறுபெயரவெரூரோள் ஹாராஜா அவர்கள் இராமசுவரத்தில் பீ-
 34 ராஜநாயவூரிக்குக் கட்டளை நடத்துகிறதற்கு காக்கூருக்கு கிறைம-
 35 டாநாயாஸநப்பட்டைய மெருதிக் குடுத்தபடி கிறையசாஸந-
 36 லாவதம் [1*] காக்கூருக்கு கிறையடி லே சத— இந்த லாயிரம் வராகனும்
 மொ-

Second side.

- 37 க்கம் பத்திக்கொண்டபடியினாலே தடாதகைநாட்டில்க் காக்கூர்க் கிறுமத்-
 38 துக்கு எல்கைக் கிழக்கெல்கையாவது கருமளக்காலுக்குங் கதையன்கண்ம-
 39 ராய்ச் கரைக்கு[ம்*] கருமளக்கண்மாய் மூலைக்கரைக்கு[ம்*] மெற்கு தெற்-
 கெல்கையாவது
 40 குமார்க்குறிச்சிக்கண்மா யுள்வாய்க்குங் கருசல்க் குளத்துக்கண்மா யுள்வா-
 41 ய்க்கு[ம்*] பத்தலைக்கண்மா யுள்வாய்க்கும் பகையன்கண்மா யுள்வா[ய்*]-
 க்கும் வ-
 42 டக்கு மெற்கெல்லையாவது சாத்தான் எந்தல்க்குளத்து புஞ்சை எல்-
 கைப் பு-
 43 ரவுக்கு[ம்*] முதுகுளத்து ரெல்கைக் குத்துக்கல்லுக்கும் பணையடி யெந்த-
 லெ-
 44 ல்கைப் புரவுக்குங் கிழக்கு வடக்கெல்லையாவது புரியம்முடி எல்கை-
 45 க்குங் குத்துக்கல்லுக்கும் பாடுவானெந்த லெல்கைப் புரவுக்கும் பூந்தகுள-
 46 த்து எல்கைப் புரவுக்குங் குத்துக்கல்லுக்குங் கருமளகாலுக்குந் தெற்கு இ-
 47 ன்னான்கெல்லைக் குளப்பட்ட காக்கூர் நஞ்சை புஞ்சை லாணாஜாஜாயும் நிதி-
 48 நிகெஷவஜுதருபாஷாணலிஹார சுகுணினாஜாஜிவிவிவாஜிமென்று சொ-
 49 ல்லப்பட்ட க்ஷெஹாமஜெஸவூரஜிஹெஸுக்கு டாநாஜிவிநியவிசுயங்க-
 50 னுக்கு யொழிவாக பீவஜீநாலாஸ வஹி ஸாஸாராஜவஜி-2 கூறுபெயர-
 வெ-
 51 ருமாள் மஹாராஜாசுவர்கள் நடத்துகிற இராமேஸ்வரம் கட்டெ-த் த-
 52 டுத்தாக்கூ குலாஜாஜி-2(0)ஞ் சந்ததிப்பிறவெசமெ ஆண்டனுபவித்துக் கெ-
 53 காள்வாராகவும் [1*] கிறுமத்தில் வரியிறை மற்றதும் 3 மன்னினையாகவும்
 ஊழி-
 54 ய் மதலாகியது சகலமும் பீராராஜாஜி கட்டளை முஹெஸுக்கத்-
 55 த மிறகாரமாகவும் நடத்திவிச்சக் கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [1*] இந்தப்ப-
 56 டிக்குக் கிறையசாஸந[ஞ்*] செய்துவிச்சக் கொடுத்தொ மிந்தத்தம்மத்-
 57 த பரிபாலனம் பண்ணின பெர்கள் கொடிஸஹபுஜிஹெஷயும் கொடி-
 58 ஸிவலிஹபுஜிஹெஷயும் கொடிகொடி மொஜாநமும் பண்ணிந புண்ணிய-
 59 ம் பெறுவராகவும் [1*] இந்த தம்மத்துக்கு அகிதம் நினைத்தபெர் காடி-
 லெதுவி-
 60 ல் கொடி கொஹ(ஹ)த்தியும் கொடி ஸுஜ்ஜஹத்தியும் பண்ணின பாவத்
 தை மடையரா-

3. Read மன்னிறை.

4. Read குமங்களுக்கொத்த

- 61 கடிம் [1*] வுத்தூதுமுணா! வுணஜம் வுத்தூதுவாறுநம் வுத்தூதுவ-
ஹாரென வு-
62 டுது திஹும் ஹெவகி உ டாநவாறுநயொஜி-ஜெஜி² டாநாஜெயொநுவா-
றுநம்
63 டாநாவும-ஜுவாவொதி வானுநாடி-துதம் வஜம் உ இந்தப்படிக்குத் தா-
ம்பி-
64 றசாஸன் மெளுதினது மதுரை சட்டையப்ப நாலங்கராயன் குமாரன் ஈட்-
65 டையப்பன் கைவ்லிகிதடி உ

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 23rd (day) of Arpaśi in the year Virōdhi corresponding to (the) Kollam (year) 945 (which was) current after the Śaka year 1691 had expired, and which was a Sunday, the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight with nakshatra Uttirāḍam, śūlanāma-yōgam and garaja-karanam, śrī-Mahā-maṇḍalēśvaran, the lord of the city of Tēvai, the guardian of the Setu, the destroyer of the armies of enemy kings (or Āryas), the punisher of those kings who transgress his words, he who seizes the countries seen but never lets go the captured territories, the establisher of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, the establisher of the Chōla dominions, the all-powerful in the Tondai-maṇḍalam, the (conqueror) of Ilam, Koṅgu, Yālpānam and all (other) kingdoms, (he) who instituted the elephant hunt, the chief of kings, the supreme lord of kings, the sun among kings, the noblest among kings, the ornament of the race of kings, the crest-jewel of the solar race, the *vanniya* of abundant pearls,..... the destroyer of tale-bearers, the punisher of rebels of *svāmi* (his Pāṇḍya master), the wicked among wicked men, the curber of the mischief of wicked men, the lion-cub,⁶ the lion of the army, the lion to enemy kings, he who pushed (his army) on rivers and on the sea, he who gave asylum to the ferocious tiger, the protector of the (Queen's) marriage-badge, the punisher of parasolled kings, the stopper of the swagger of the *vanniyas*, the warden of the Tondi-harbour, a Rēvanta in horsemanship, the monkey-bannered, the Garuḍa-bannered, the lion-bannered, a Karna in charity, a Dharma in patience (forgiveness), a Bhīma in wrestling, a Vijaya⁷ (Arjuna) in archery, a Nakula in horse-craft, an Agastya in erudition, a Harīśchandra in truthfulness, the possessor of a heroic panegyric⁸ and a brace of fly-whisks, an adept in the arts of pleasant talk, music and composition, he of the lovely face about whom artless maidens with vermilion-marked foreheads desire to compose (the work

1. Read வுத்தூதுமுணா.

2. Read யொஜெயெஜி.

3. Read டாநாஜெயொ-
றுநம்

4. Read டாநா து-
வஜம்

5. Read டுதுதுதம்.

6. வெகுண்டெழுந்த நல்லிளங்கோசரி தேவையர்கோன் ரகுநாதன் — *Oruṇṇaiṅkōrai*, v. 31.

7. அடைக்கலங்காத்தவன் செஞ்சிலைக்கேவிசையன் ரகுநாயகன் — *ibid.*, v. 92.

8. *Vīraṇṇamāliyaṇṇa* was also the title of the Pāṇḍya king Ativīraṇṇa of A. D. 1562 (*Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I. p. 274).

called)¹ *maḍal*, the lover of the goddess of victory, the Rāma to the Rāvanas of (enemy) kings, a *vēlaikkāraṇ*² to devotees, he on whose two feet shine the heroic anklet and the *śēmattalai*, the chastiser of the wicked and the protector of the righteous, the breaker of the army of Muhammadans and the destroyer of their pride, the breaker of the army of Oḍḍiyar and the destroyer of their pride, the breaker of the armies of enemies, he whose mind is not perturbed even if mountains (themselves) are disturbed, the moon to feeding-houses, the Dēvēndra of the earth, the upholder of Śiva's worship, the founder of many temples, the owner of the Chōḷa dominions, the possessor of a red-ochre coloured parasol, *virudu*, and a white fly-whisk, the abode of the goddess of all prosperity, the supervisor of the affairs of god Rāmanātha, the upholder of the race of Hiraṇyagabhayāji Raghunātha-Sētopati Karttadēvaravargal, who had performed the sixteen great gifts beginning with the Tulāpurushadāva, the crest-jewel of the Solar race and he that was seated resplendent in (the place called) Viraiyādagandān in the eastern portion of Kākkūr *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-nallur (a village) in Togavūr-kūṛram — Muttu-Rāmalīṅga Vijayaraghunātha-Sētopati Karttadēvaravargal — gave in writing to Śrīpadmanābhādāsa Vañchi³ Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśēkharapperumāl Mahārāja of the *ādhiṇam* of Tiruppāppūr-svarūpam the (following) sale-deed for the sale of (the village of) Kākkūr for conducting a service (*kaṭṭalai*) to god śrī-Rāmanāthasvāmin at Rāmēśvaram.

As 4000 *varāhaṇ*, (in words) four thousand *varāhaṇ*, have been received in cash as the price of Kākkūr, the boundaries of Kākkūr in Taṭātakai-nāḍu are:—

the eastern boundry (is) to the west of the Karumaḷakkāl, the bund of Gaḍaiyan-kaṇmāy, and the corner bund of Karumaḷa-kaṇmāy;

the southern boundary (is) to the north of the sluices of Kumārakkurichchi-kaṇmāy, Karuśalkuḷa-kaṇmāy, Pattalai-kaṇmāy and Pagaiyan-kaṇmāy;

the western boundary (is) to the east of the dry lands near Kāttāy-ēndal-kuḷam, the boundary stone of Mudukuḷattūr, and the boundary land of Paṇaiya-di-yēndal; and

the northern boundary (is) to the south of the boundary of Puḷiyanṅudi and its set-up stone, the boundary of Paḍuvān-ēndal, the boundary of Pūndak-kuḷam and its set-up stone and the Karumaḷakkāl.

Kākkūr (situated) within these four boundaries shall be enjoyed, together with its wet and dry lands, its perquisites in cash, its eight privileges such as treasure-troves, deposits, water, timber, stones, ore, *akshinī* and *āḡāmi*, the accomplished and the accomplishable, which were all made eligible to (be disposed of in) gifts, barter, or sale, by Śrīpadmanābhādāsa Vañchi³ Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśēkharapperumāl Mahārāja for the conduct of the service in Rāmēśvaram, as long as the moon and sun (exist) and in his line of succession.

1. A variety of composition, *vide.*,

— மன்னு

விடவண்ணக்கண்டத்துவேதியன்மேலிட்ட

மடல்வண்ணம் பாடும் பொழுதிண்டு —

Tirukkaiḷā, aḡānu-ala.

Pannirupāṭṭiyal defines *Maḍal* in verses 244 to 247; Tirumaṅgai āḷvār is the author of similar compositions called the *Periyatirumaḍal* and the *Śrīyatirumaḍal*.

Maḍalardal is the crowing act of dogged audacity which a disappointed lover indulges in to evoke compassion from the other party-*viz.*, that of riding on a horse made of palmyra pricks!

2. On *Vēlaikkāraṇ* and their significance, *vide.*,

3. See page 10 above regarding the king's name which may be taken as Vañchipāla Rāmavarma-Kulaśēkhara.

The taxes leviable from this village shall be (paid by tenants as) *manñirai*, and labour and other items shall be supplied according to the requirements of the Rāmanāthasvāmi-service.

Thus did we prepare and give the sale-deed.

Those that protect this charity shall obtain the merit of having set up a crore of brahmans and a crore of Śiva-līngas, and of having performed many crores of Gōdānas. Those that think evil to this charity shall incur the sin of having killed a crore of brahmans and a crore of cows in Kāśī (Benares) and Sētu (Rāmēśvaram).

The protection of another's charity is twofold more meritorious than one's own charity; by damaging another's charity, one's own gifts become fruitless. Between (the two things) gift and its protection, the latter is more felicitous than the former; by gift one attains Svarga whereas by fostering (another's charity) one reaches the abode of Achyuta (*i. e.*, Vaikunṭham).

In this manner was this copper-plate engraved in the writing of Śaṭṭaiyappaṇ, the son of Śaṭṭaiyappa-Nālaṅgarāyaṇ of Madurai.

No. 5—Ramavarmayasobhushanam and Vasulakshmikalyanam.

In the Trivandrum Palace Library there is a manuscript entitled the *Rāmavarma-yasōbhūśhaṇam*, which on examination, proved to be an exact reproduction of the *Pratīparudrīya* with regard to the rules, definitions and their explanatory notes, classified under the same nine chapters, Nāyaka, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Rasa, Dōsha, Guṇa, Śabdālāṅkāra, Arthālāṅkāra and Mīśrālāṅkāra *prakāraṇas*, but with the illustrative verses composed, agreeably to its title, in praise of the Travancore king Rāmavarma-Kulaśēkhara Vañchipāla.¹ The author of this work is said to be a certain Sadāśiva-makhin,² son of Chokkanāthādihvarin;³ but further details

1. Similar works composed by other poets in praise of their respective patrons are *Naijari-jyotiśobhushanam* of Narasiṃhaśaṭṭai, *Alaṅkāra-majjishā*, and *Śaṭṭaiyappa-bhara-dīpākaṇam* in Sanskrit and *Māṇḍalāṅkāraṇam* of Tirukkurukappirumāl-Kavirāyar in praise of Nannālvār.

2. चोक्कनाथाध्वरिसुतस्सर्वविद्याविशरदः ।

सदाशिवमखी मोऽयं प्रबन्धा भावुकाग्रणीः ॥

सयं सदाशिवकृतिर्मधुरोक्तिबन्धा सालङ्कृतिस्सरसभावनिरूपणोक्ता ।

कान्तं समिच्छति वधूरिव वञ्चिबा(पा)लश्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसर्वभौमम् ॥

3. We know of three different persons bearing the name of Chokkanātha at the end of the 17th century; *viz.*,

(i) the author of *Servantikāparinayam* who was the son of Tippādhvarin and who mentions a certain Basavakshītindra, in his drama,

(ii) the author of the commentary of *Yudhisṭhīrarijāyam* of Vāsudēva, which is in manuscript in the Palace Library and in which is mentioned that he was the son of Sudarśana-Bhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvāja-gotra and a native of Sattanūr; and

(iii) the father-in-law of Rāmabhadra-Dikshita (1693).

Of these No. i refers to Nīlakanṭha-Makhin and was the author of कान्तिमतीपरिणयम् composed at the instance of Shājirāja and belongs therefore to the beginning of the 18th century. It may also be noted that there was a Basavappa-Nāyaka of Ikkēri (1697-1714) and a chief

about his pedigree are not available here except that in a drama of his named *Lakṣhmīkalyāṇam*¹ his *gōtra* is known to be Bhāradvāja and mother's name to be Mīnākshī. Unlike the *Pratāparudrīya* which has furnished many interesting tit bits of historical information about its Kākātīya hero that have since been verified by epigraphical researches, the 'Adornment of the glory of Rāmavarman' is a composition of purely literary merit; for the author evidently an East-Coast brahman, whose knowledge of or interest in the history of Travancore in those troublous times could never have been great, has failed to give an historical setting to his penegyric verses, but has only revelled in the usual stereotyped but commendable descriptions, similitudes and imagery. If this should be so in the case of an author who flourished only a century and a half ago, there is nothing to wonder at in the paucity of historical material in the compositions of many of our earlier Sanskrit poets, with but a few honourable exceptions; and the criticism that the average Indian author is lacking in the historical instinct is hardly undeserved.

The few points worthy of attention in this work may now be noted. That the hero of the work is none other than the nephew of Mārttāṇḍavarman, the Great—the illustrious Rāmavarma-Kulaśekhara-Vaṇchipāla of the Solar race, who ascended the throne in Kollam 933 (A. D. 1758) and had a long eventful reign of 40 years till Kollam 973 (A. D. 1798), is understood from a verse² which records

named Basavarājendra (c. 1700 A. D.) either of whom may have been the patron mentioned by the author. (*Q. J. M. S.* Vol. X. p. 297); but we do not know if he was of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra to identify him with Sadāśiva's father.

No. ii is of that *gōtra* and says in his commentary that he completed it in the cyclic year Vikrama, month Nabhas (Śrāvana), Revatī, Monday, *be. tritīya*, and as these details are correct for both the Kollam year 875 and 936 in all particulars except the weekday it may be presumed that he was Sadāśiva's father. Sadāśiva must have composed his *Yasobhūṣanam* in the early part of his patron's reign.

1 अस्ति खलु भारद्वाजकुलकलशजलधिहिमकरस्य सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रस्य चोक्त्रनाथयज्वनः तनूजस्य मीनाक्षिगर्भ-
शुक्तिमुक्तामणेः सदाशिवयज्वनः कृतिः अभिनवं लक्ष्मीकल्याणं नाम नाटकम् ।

2. सतां मार्गे स्थित्वा सकलशुभमाधाय जगतां

विपक्षक्षोणीभृत्तिमिरहरतेजस्विनि विवेः ।

गतेऽस्तं मार्त्तिण्डे विधुरिव जनानन्दजनकः

कलासिन्धुराजाद्युदयमधिरूढो विजयते ॥

A few other verses referring to the king are:

(a) तत्तादृगद्भुतचरित्रपावीत्रितासु

प्राचां कृतिष्वपि सतीषु मितंपचोक्तिः ।

वाञ्चापलात्सुगुणसागरवाञ्चिवा(पा)ल-

श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरभूपमीडे ॥

(b) लक्ष्मी वृणोतु यदपाङ्गविलासपात्रं

यच्छस्तलक्ष्यकुलमाश्रितोऽप्सरोभिः ।

श्रीपद्मनाभशरणागतवञ्चिवा(पा)ल-

श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरराट सजीयात् ॥

with a *double entendre*, that after Mārttāṇḍa (the king: the sun) had set, Rājā (king Rāṃavarman: the moon) ascended the Udayagiri (Udayagiri hill near Padmanābhapuram: the eastern hill). One item of new information furnished by this book is that Rāṃavarman was the son of a queen called Pārvatī;¹ and it follows therefore that the princess of the Kolattunāḍ family who was adopted by Unni-Keraṭavarman in Kollam 893² (A. D. 1718) had this name or got it on adoption, Lakshmi and Pārvatī being alternately the names borne by the Ranis of Travancore. Rāṃavarman may have had more than two brothers for they are referred to in the plural number as *saṅgarbhyāḥ*³ and are cited as types of *Dhīralalita* heroes spending away their time in their mansions in amorous dalliance; but we know of only one Rāṃavarman,⁴ who was present at the time of Rāṃavarman's dedication of the State to god Padmanābha. The munificence⁵ and charitable disposition,

(a) सन्तु प्रजा विहितधर्मपरास्समृद्धाः

आचन्द्रतारमन्त्रौ जयतु क्षितीन्द्रः ।

श्रीपद्मनाभशरणायतत्रच्चिदा(पा)ल-

श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौमः ॥

1. (1) पार्वत्यास्सुकृतोदयेनजगती क्षेमाय सद्बुद्धये
दुष्टानामहं शिक्षणाय सपुनः स्कन्दस्सुरैः प्रार्थितः ।
भूत्वा वञ्चिधराधिपः प्रथितया शक्त्या रिपून् शिक्षयन्
सुब्रह्मण्यपदं व्यनक्ति भुवने श्रीरामवर्मानृपः ॥

(2) पार्वतीचन्द्रस्तैः वञ्चीन्द्रः स्कन्द एव यत् ।
शक्त्या विनिहितामित्रः सुब्रह्मण्यो विराजते ॥

(3) योयं सुक्तामणिर्जातः पार्वतीगर्भशुक्तिः ।
सद्बुद्धो गुणवान् स्वच्छः स्निग्धस्सोयं विराजते ॥

2. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, page 324.

3. सौधाप्रोदितरत्नदीपकलिकाव्याजार्कविम्बोदय-
व्याक्षिप्तेन्द्रभयप्रदानचतुरस्वीयास्यचन्द्रोदयैः ।
गायद्विनिजयौवतैः प्रतिनिशं सक्तास्सगर्भ्यान्ृपा
वञ्चिक्षेणिपतेर्निरन्तरयशस्संप्रार्थयन्ते मुदा ॥

4. तदनुज रविवर्मा भागिनेयस्वनामा
स्वयमपि स तु वञ्चिष्मापतिश्चैकभागः ।
सकलभुवनभारं पद्मनाभाय दत्त्वा

मनुपतिकुलभूषे स्वामिश्रित्यस्वभावः ॥—*Bālarāmaḥarataṃ* (T. A. S. IV. 110).

5. विद्वद्भजानपि निरङ्कुशवर्तिनस्वै-
रुद्ध्वानुगैः कनकराङ्गलिकानुबन्धान् ।
कृत्वावासि प्रतिपदं ननु वञ्चिबा(पा)ल-
श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौम ॥

proweess.¹ literary accomplishments² and other incomparable³ qualities of this sovereign have the contemporary testimony of the author in some of the verses occurring in the work and these attributes go to justify the names of *Dharma-rāja* by which he was lovingly remembered by his subjects and to confirm the ideal picture drawn of him in the pages of the *Travancore State Manual*⁴ and in the *Archaeological Series*, Vol. IV. It is a pity that no reference has however been made in the work to any of the stirring political events of those times, as probably it was composed early in the king's reign.

The plot of the model drama called the *Vasulakshmī-kalyāṇam* inserted in the *Nāṭaka-prakaraṇa* or the third chapter of the book is as follows:—

The king of distant Sindhu had a daughter named Vasulakshmī and had set his heart on marrying her to the king of Travancore, Rāmavarma-Kulaśekhara, whose accomplishments were much noised abroad. But the queen who had another bridegroom in view in the person of her nephew, the prince of Simhala, started her daughter on a voyage ostensibly with the intention of visiting a famous temple while the proposed destination was in reality Ceylon. Providence, however, upset

1. त्रैलोक्यप्रथमानभास्करकुलक्षीराब्धिराका शशी
प्रत्यर्थिक्षितिपालमौलिमणिभिर्नीराजिताङ्घ्रिर्मुहुः ।
दिक्कान्ताकुचकुम्भचन्दनरसोन्मीलद्यशोमण्डलः
राज्यश्रीसमलंकृतो विजयते श्रीरामवर्मो नृपः ॥
2. यदृच्छासल्लपैस्समधिगतषट्पन्नविभवे-
श्रमत्कुर्वन् धीरान् सदसि रसभावप्रकटनैः ।
कवीन्धिन्वन् गानकमविवरणादगायकवरान्
परिष्कुर्वन्वद्विक्षितिपालिकोऽयं विजयते ॥
3. स एव देवो भुवनेज्जनाभः स एव देशस्तदुपाहितार्थिः ।
सानन्दपुर्येव पुरी स वद्विक्षितीश एव क्षितिपालको हि ॥
4. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 407 et. seq.

In this connection the tribute of praise tendered to the king by his nephew Rāmavarman (Aśvati-tīrman) in his *Rukmīṇī-pariṇayam* is worth noting.

अस्ति निखिलखलहृदयनिचङ्कन्यमानशोकशल्यस्य शल्यस्येव धर्मजातबद्धचेतसः प्रचेतस इव पार्श्वपरिभ्राज-
मानवाहिनीसहस्रस्य सहस्रदीधितिरीवोन्मुखपद्माकरगृहीतपादपल्लवस्य वैततेयस्येव शृशमहितापदानवतः का-
र्तिकेयस्येवाप्रतिहतशक्तेराखण्डलस्येव प्रकटितशतकोटिदानविस्मयस्य विशङ्कटभुजविटपिविहरमाणविश्वंभरा-
शारीकस्य हरिचरणपरिचरणधुरीणधिषणस्य सकलपरिपन्थिमण्डलालयविश्रान्तचापकर्मणोऽपि सकलदि-
गन्तश्रूयमाणगुरुगुणध्वनेः पार्थिवप्रधानस्यापि गुणमयस्य राज्ञः श्रीपद्मनाभदासवद्विपालकुलशेखर-
रामवर्मणो भागिनेयेन रामवर्मनामधयेन etc.

the queen's calculations and the royal barge was stranded on that part of the Travancore shore which was in the jurisdiction of the frontier-captain (*antardūrya-pāla*) Vasumadrāja, the brother of the king's consort, Vasumatī. The shipwrecked princess was then sent by this captain to his sister at the capital where her beauty at once captivated the pliable heart of king Rāmavarman, the hero of the drama. The usual love intrigue culminates in a clandestine meeting of the lovers in the Palace garden and the jealous senior then attempts to dispose of her rival by marriage to her cousin, the Pāṇḍya king. But this scheme is frustrated by the king and his accomplice, the inevitable Vidūshaka, who in the disguise of the Pāṇḍya king and his friend receive the bride. In the meantime, the Sindhūrāja learns of the whereabouts of his missing daughter through Nītisāgara, the Travancore minister, and coming to Travancore with a large escort confirms the betrothal of king Rāmavarman with Vasulakshmī, which happily coincides with his own inclinations.

This, in short, is a summary of the five-act drama purged of all the extraneous matter that had of necessity to be introduced to illustrate the several rules and definitions of dramaturgy and the long-drawn love scenes dictated by the conventional canons of literary tradition. It is not known if there is any inner significance underlying the story of Vasulakshmī's parentage in far-off Sindhu, her ship-wreck on the Travancore shores enroute Ceylon, and her marriage with Rāmavarman to the discomfiture of the two other rivals in the field, the princes respectively of Simhala and Pāṇḍya. In the present state of our ignorance about the royal household³ of king Rāmavarman, we can only say that this love episode is a mere creation of the poet's imagination and the combined result of an anxiety on his part to flatter his patron and to compose a work in the accepted style in conformity with the orthodox literary rules. The names given by the author for the important *dramatis personae* are very misleading and except the name of the king there is none other answering, so far as we know, to those of contemporary historical personages. The minister bears the professionally significant name of Nītisāgara, while the coast-captain is a Vasumadrāja, his sister is a Vasumatī, and the Sindhu princess is a Vasulākshmī, all these three names being derived from the word '*vasu*' (=wealth). The suggestion therefore offers itself as to whether the author wanted to glorify in allegory some of the king's and his uncle's conquests¹ and annexations near by though not in far-off Sindh or whether a merchantman loaded with cargo from Sindh and bound for Ceylon, which was perhaps stranded on the Travancore shores owing to the inclemencies of the weather was overhauled as prize by the Travancore coasting garrison and sent as salvage to the king at his capital.²

There is again in the same Library an extremely ill-copied manuscript of another five-act drama called by the same title of *Vasulakshmī-kalyāṇam* which is stated to have been composed in the year Viśvāvasu, without any indication, being given of its equivalent in the Śaka or the Kollam era; but as Kollam 960 (A. D. 1785) the twenty-sixth year of reign of Rāmavarman was also the cyclic year

1. *Trav State Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 333 et. seq.

2. There is, however, no incident of this kind mentioned in the *Manual*.

3. One modern Malayalam book mentions that the King had four successive consorts.

Viśvāvasu, that year may be taken to be its date of composition. Its hero is the same illustrious king of Travancore¹ and its author who is quite different from Sadāśiva, the composer of the other drama inserted into the *Vasūbhūṣaṇam*, is a certain Veṅkaṭasubrahmaṇyādhvarin² of the famous family of Appayya-Dīkshita (1553-1626) of Adaiyappalam.

The plot of this drama, though similar in all essential particulars to that of the model drama noticed above, has been amplified in some details: but it is also unfortunately devoid of any special historical references except that the marriage of the princess of Sindh with Rāmavarman is stated to have been a diplomatic alliance calculated to raise him to the status of a *sārvabhauma*³ through the augmented

1 तदामुध्यायणस्यास्य प्रबन्धे विशिष्य पुण्यमहाराजरामवर्मकुलशेखरचरितानुबन्धो कृतो नमे भूयानादराति शयः स्यात् ।

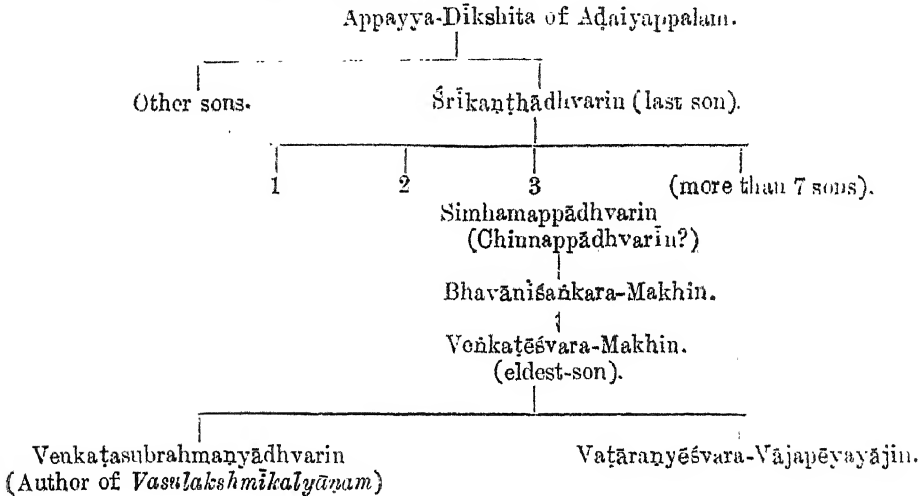
2 अप्पय्याध्वरिसुतेध्व(षु)चरम श्री[नील*]कण्ठाध्वरी
तत्पुत्रेषु दशाधिकेध्वरि तृतीयस्तिष्ठमप्पाध्वरी ।
तस्माच्चापि भवानीशङ्करमखी ज्येष्ठो गुणैरावभूत्
तस्यैकोऽजनि वेङ्कटेश्वरमखी यस्यायसूनुः कविः ॥

विद्वत्कुलगुर्वप्पय्यमखिनां वंशो महोन्नतो जीयात् ।

वेङ्कटसुब्रह्मण्याध्वरिकविविद्वन्मणिर्यतो ह्युदभूत् ॥

इत् एवाधीतनिगमादिसर्वविद्यः दिगन्तविदितनिजवैखरीविभववित्रासितविमतवादिगजकेसरी वटारण्येश्वरवाज-
पेययाजीत्यभिज्ञायते ।

The genealogy works out as follows:



The two names Śrīkanṭha and Simhamappa seem to be incorrectly copied in the manuscript, for another copy of the same work available at Karatholuvu in the Coimbatore District reads Nīlakanṭha and Chinnappādhvarin respectively. Compare also the following sentence occurring in the same drama:—

अस्य कवेः पूर्विकाः श्रीमदप्पय्याध्वरितनुच्छन्नस्य भगवतश्चन्द्रमौलेशभूताः नीलकण्ठमखिचिन्नप्पय्या-
ध्वरिवेङ्कटेश्वरमखिप्रभाकरदीक्षित प्रभृतयः षड्दर्शनीवल्लभाऽपि नलचरितोमापरिणयोषाह-
रणहरिश्चन्द्रानन्दप्रभृतिरपरिमितैर्नटिकादिप्रबन्धैरुपक्रमादेव etc.

3 परीक्ष्य लक्षणज्ञाता दैवज्ञानां मुखात्स्वर्यं ।

निश्चैषीद्विबोदस्तां सार्वभौमत्वलम्भिकाम् ॥

friendship of the Hūnarāja. (the Hon'ble East India Company?). There is no reference at all to the attempted invasion of Hyder Ali (A. D. 1769) or to the anxious political outlook of the country with the incubus of an impending foreign invasion looming to the north of the Travancore Lines, or even to the Mahārāja's grand pilgrimage to Rāmēśvaram which was undertaken in A. D. 1784,¹ just a year previous to the probable date of composition of the drama. Instead, the author has given the usual conventional setting to the whole plot which makes it difficult to discover whether, if at all, any allegorical significance has to be read between the lines. With the exception of king Rāmavarman, the hero, all the other important characters of the drama are given fictitious names coined from the same Sanskrit word '*rasu*', as can be seen from the appended list.

Buddhisāgara-minister. *Vasusēna*-Commander, *Vasumatī*, consort of the Mahārāja, *Vasumān*- consort's brother and frontier-captain, *Vasuvārman*- Chēra prince, *Vasunīlhi*-Sindhurāja. *Vasurāśi*—his son and *Vasulakshmī*— Sindhu princess.

The story of this drama is briefly as follows:—

The minister *Buddhisāgara* who has seen the portrait of *Vasulakshmī*, the Sindhu princess, is anxious that the king of Travancore should marry her, so that the latter's political influence may extend northwards and his friendship with the Hūnarāja may also be strengthened. When news is received that the Sindhu princess is voyaging to Ceylon, the minister manages to waylay this ship in the Travancore waters with the active cooperation of the Hūna fleet, and *Vasumān*, the officer in command of the sea-coast who was also the brother of the Travancore king's consort, sends the captive-princess to the royal Palace. There the king falls in love with her and manages to meet her in the royal pleasure gardens to the intense chagrin of *Vasumatī* who tries to marry her rival to the Chēra prince *Vasuvārman* and thus remove the unwelcome competitor out of the way. This plot fails, as in the other drama, by the countermachinations of the king and his *Vidūshaka* who successfully personate the Chēra prince and his boon-companion. By the artful scheming of the minister coupled with the influence of her brother, *Vasumatī* is however, finally won over to consent to the marriage of *Vasulakshmī* with her own husband and the Sindhu prince *Vasurāśi*, instructed by *Buddhisāgara* comes posthaste from his country to celebrate his sister's marriage with the Travancore king. By this alliance, it is stated, the friendship of both the parties with the Hūnarāja was strengthened and the influence of the Travancore king was visibly enhanced.

It will be seen from the above summary that the thread of the above story is the same as that of the other drama of the same name and that the difference is only in the names of the characters. The only new point here is the introduction of the Hūnarāja as the third party in the alliance; but unluckily no definite clue for the identification of this foreigner is forthcoming in the drama. In all probability, however, the allusion may fitly be to the Hon'ble East India Company, which has been described² as, and was in actuality, a fast-rising power in the

1. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, page 384.

2. तदनेन तीर्थेन हिमवत्पश्चिमाञ्चलवासिनोऽपि भरतवर्षमात्राव्यापिनः हूणराजस्य चिरप्रवृत्तमपि सख्यं देवेन बहुलीभविष्यतीति मन्ये ।

political horizon of India, whose help and goodwill were much coveted and sought after by the Indian princes of that period. From the *Travancore State Manual*,¹ it is learnt that the port of Alleppey was opened out for commerce in the reign of this king Rāmarvarman much to the detriment of the Dutch trade and that great facilities were afforded to certain wealthy merchants of Sindh and Cutch to colonise at that port so as to assure the commercial prosperity of the State. In the drama again Sindhurāja is mentioned as the friend of Rāmarvarman's uncle,² Mārttāṇḍavarman, and although the province of Sindh is specifically mentioned as located in northern India with the country of Kachcha in its vicinity, one is led to think that the references in the drama are not to the northern provinces of Sindh and Cutch as such, but to some merchants of these countries who were carrying on a brisk trade along the West Coast down to Ceylon and whose settlement at the new port of Alleppey was the happy achievement of king Rāmarvarman. When the Dutch trade was thus undermined, the Hon'ble East India Company which had only a few decades ago got a slippery footing at Anjengo and Viliñam was now enabled to have a more secure base of operations, both commercial and political in the West Coast, and with the establishment of good relations between the Travancore king and the northern merchant princes of Sindh and Cutch, it also slowly strengthened its influence and enlarged its sphere of activity further up in the north. This appears to be the only plausible interpretation of the story of *Vasulakshmī-kalyāṇam*, in the absence of other evidence to connote an actual marriage of the king with a Sindhu princess called Vasulakshmī.³ Her name which literally means the 'Goddess of wealth' may aptly do duty for a personification of the anticipated commercial prosperity of the State consequent on the colonisation of the northern merchants, whose introduction into the country and the grant of special privileges to whom were, however, first viewed with disfavour and jealousy by the conservative merchants of the soil as represented by the legal consort, Vasumatī (the Earth), until their prejudice was tided over by proper arguments adduced by the able minister; while Vasumān, the *Vēladurjapāla* (the port-officer?), who was also convinced of the advantages that would accrue to the State by Vasulakshmī's marriage (increased commercial activity) heartily sided with the minister in his endeavours to win over Vasumatī's consent.

In the chapter on Śabdālaṅkāra in the *Rāmarvarma-yaśobhūṣaṇam* have been given under the section of Chitrālaṅkāra a few verses composed in the more popular of the *bandhus*, such as the *nāga*, *chakra*, *ratha* and *aṣṭadalapadma*, with diagrams showing the manner in which the syllables are to be arranged in them. These form an interesting study in themselves and show the flexibility with which the Sanskrit language was handled by the poets in the feats of verbal gymnastics practised by them as a leisure hour recreation. In this connection, it is interesting

1. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 372

2. अस्मन्मातुलबालमेत्रमसकृत्कर्णान्तरङ्गीकृतः

योधीती धनुरागमेषु सहतैः तुल्यश्च बाह्वोर्वले ।

सिन्धोरुत्तरकच्छभूमिमवर्षीकृत्य हिमाद्रेः क्षितिं

रक्षन्दिक्पतिसन्निभो वसुनिधिः ख्यातप्रभावः क्षितौ ॥

3. A modern work in prose on *ammaridus* states that the king had four consorts in succession, viz., Kāliammai-Nāgamani of Nagercoil and three others from Vadaṣari. Ammaṇa and Tiruvattāṇ ammaridus.

to note that the diagram for the *Chakrabandha* given in the manuscript is the correct form drawn and filled in according to the instructions given in the commentary. It exhibits the name of the author and his work in a proper alignment in the concentric circles; whereas the diagram given in the Allahabad edition of the *Pratāparudīya* is incorrect in so far as the names of the author and his work are not so easily discernible or so symmetrically arranged. The Saṅgam edition of *Māraṇalāṅkāraṁ* also gives the correct diagram of a *śaḍārachakram* with the Tamil letters properly arranged.

No. 6.—Mārttandavarman's Record of Kollam 925.

This record is found written in Tamil characters and in the Malayalam language on a leaf of cadjan preserved in the Vernacular Records Office at Trivandrum and from the statement that it is only a copy (*ediriḍa*), its original, which must necessarily have been engraved on copper considering the importance of the record, may perhaps be found stowed away in the archives of the Trivandrum temple among many other equally valuable and possibly earlier documents relating to that temple's administration. These, if made available for purposes of detailed examination, will help in the elucidation of many events appertaining to Travancore history.

In spite of its apparently recent date of Kollam 925, the importance of this document lies in the fact that it records an unique historical episode known as *Tiruppaḍi-dānam*,¹ wherein king Mārttandavarman is stated to have dedicated his whole kingdom to god Padmanābha, the tutelary deity of the Travancore Royal House, while he conducted the administration as the god's agent (*Bhaṇḍāra-kkāriyam-śeyvār*). That this *coup-d'état* was calculated to safeguard the solidity of his newly acquired dominions from the counter reprisals of his whilom enemies, who dared not proceed against territories dedicated to and therefore belonging exclusively to god was not an innovation of this king, but that the idea that the Tiruvaḍi-rājya was god's country was current two centuries earlier even during the time of the invasion of Veṇāḍu by the Vijayanagara king Achyutarāja has been dealt with at length in Volume IV of the *Series*. Mārttandavarman's successor Rānavarman went through the same dedication ceremony in about Kollam 938-9.

The boundaries of the dominions which were thus disposed of are only vaguely given here viz., the fort of Tōvāla on the east and Kāvaṇāru in the west; but the territory must have been big enough as Mārttāṇḍa, the Conqueror, had by the Kollam year 925 annexed or subdued many of the principalities with which

1. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, 362: Compare

പരമനാഭസമർപ്പിതംഖില യന്മജനൻ ധരണീശ.രൻ

പരമനാഭപുരംപ്രമാകുന്ന സത്ത്മാശ്ച ചമച്ചുടൻ

* * * *

സകലജാതിപദമുദിതപട്ടമതിവഞ്ചിഭൂമിപുരന്ദരൻ

and എന്നൊത്തു യന്ത്രൻ ധരണീശ്വരമഖി

കുന്തിച്ചിട്ടും ഭക്തിയോടമ്പലത്തിൽ

ചെന്നബിജനാഭൻറ പാദാംബുജത്തിൽ

തമ്പ്രാ സമർപ്പിച്ചിതു തന്റെ രാജ്യം.—

from *Pañchēndrapāhyanam* of Kuṇḍjan-Nambiyār,...

ഭൂപ്രവീരൻ കുലഭൈരമാകും

ശ്രീപരമനാഭന്റെ നടുക്കൂലായി

സമുപഭവനത്തിൽ വെച്ചുമാർ.

ശ്ലാഘം വെടിഞ്ഞിട്ടുവാളു വെച്ചു.

from a modern poem *Mārttāṇḍadevōdānam*.

southern Kēraḷa was dotted: Āttuṅgal, Quilon, Kāyaṅḡulam and Kottārakkarā, Ambalappūḷa and the chieftaincies of Tekkuṅkūr and Vaḍakkūṅkūr.

Text.¹

First side.

- 1 உ ஸ்ரீராம²சேயம் [11*]
- 2 திர்ப்பாப்பூர் கிழப்பெருர் ஸ்ரீ வீரவால³மார்த்தாண்டவர்மராய திர்ப்பாப்பூர் மூத்தகிருவடி இருந்நருளியெடத்திற்கல்ந் நிந்தும் கல்ப்பிச்சு பெருமாள் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்திலக்கு இராச்சியம் எழுதிவச்ச சிறுவசுவரார்ப்பண⁴ ஒலக்கு எழுதின எதிரா [11*]
- 3 சூயஉயிடு ஸூ தைமீ⁵ டுவ
- 4 வீரச்சிக சனி மீனவியாழம் செந்ந கொல்லம் தொள்ளாயிரத்து இருபத்தய்யாமாண்ட மகாமாதம் டுவ புதனாசையும் பூர்வபகைத்து சத்தமியும் இந்நாளால் எழுதிய சுவசுவரார்ப்பண ஒலக்கரணமாவிது [1*]
- 5 ஸ்ரீ பண்டாரக்காரியம் செயிவார்களாய வரலமார்த்தாண்டவர்மராய திர்ப்பாப்பூர் மூப்பில் நிந்தும் தங்களுக்கு ஒள்ள தோவாளகொட்டைக்கு படிஞாறு கவனாற்றினு கிழக்கொள்ள
- 6 இராச்சியத்தினு அகத்து ஒள்ளது நாளதுவரெ நமக்கு அவகாசமாயிட்டு அனுபவிச்ச வருந்ந வத்து கிறத்தியங்ஙனும் தானமானங்ஙனும் எப்பேர்ப்பட்டதும்
- 7 பெருமாள் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்திலக்கு சுவசுவரார்ப்பணமாக ஆசெந்திருக்கமெ எழுதிக்கொடுத்தார் [11*]

Second side.

- 8 ஸ்ரீபண்டாரக்காரியம் செய்வார்களாய வரலமார்த்தாண்டவர்மராய திர்ப்பாப்பூர் மூப்பில் நிந்தும்
- 9 இம்மார்க்கமெ இ சுவசுவரார்ப்பண ஒல வகை யெழுதிய மெலேழுத்துக் கணக்கு சங்கரகுமார[ப*]ட்டன் எழுத்து [11*]

Translation.

Victory to Śrī-Rāma!

This is a copy of the *sarvasvārpaṇa-ōla* (document) relating to the dedication of the kingdom to the *śrībhāṇḍāra* of Perumāḷ, which was made in writing by śrī-Vīra-Bālamārttāṇḍavarman *aliās* Tiruppāppūr Mūta-tiruvāḍi of (the) Tiruppāppūr(-*svarūpam*) and (the) Kīḷappērūr(-*illam*), from his palace.

Kollam 925, Tai 5.

This is the document relating to the wholesale dedication (*sarvasvārpaṇam*) which was written on the 5th day of the month of Makara in the Kollam year

1. Registered as No. 13 of the *Trav. Epig. Colln.* for 1098 M. E.

2. Expressed by a symbol.

3. The symbol— does duty for the word மார்த்தாண்ட.

4. The correct form is ஸவ-ஸ்வார்ப்பண.

सर्वस्वार्पण is the giving away of the whole of one's possessions and it is considered to be a very meritorious kind of gift. सर्वस्वदान is the name also of a variety of adoption practised in Nambudiri families, where in cases of absence of male issue to a deceased head, a man is adopted into the illam by giving away all the family property to him as dowry to the daughter of the house whom he marries.

5. Expressed by a symbol.

nine hundred and twenty-five, when Saturn was in Vriśchika and Jupiter stood in Mīna, which was a Wednesday with *saptamī-tīthi* of the first fortnight:

Bālamārttāṇḍavarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr-Mūppu who was the head of the Government gave away (in writing) to the (*bhaṇḍāra*) treasury of Perumāḷ (god Padmanābha of Trivandrum) (to last) till the moon and sun (endure), all the property, duties, grants etc. from the kingdom lying to the west of Tōvālakōṭṭa and to the east of Kāvaṇāru which belonged to, and were till that date being enjoyed by, him.

This is the signature of the *mēleḷuttu* (head-accountant), Saṅkara-Kumāra-bhaṭṭaṇ who wrote in this manner this *sarvasvārpaṇa* transaction of Bālamārttāṇḍavarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr-Mūppu, who was the head of the Government.

No. 7—Cheramangalam records of Jatavarman Sundara-Chola-Pandya.

The subjoined two records in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script and the Tamil language are engraved on the south base of the central shrine of the Viṣṇu temple at Chēramaṅgalam, a small village in the Eraniel taluk of the Padmanabhapuram Division. They belong to Jaṭavarman Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya, the first Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroy who was appointed by Rājēndrachōḷa I for the administration of his Pāṇḍya dominions, and are dated in the 19th and [6]th years of the former's reign. The writing of the second of these inscriptions seems however to be later than the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script of the middle of the 11th century, either because the engraver was a slovenly individual or this inscription was perhaps a copy incised at some later date.

The donor of the zinc lamp-stand mentioned in the first inscription was a certain Māyilaṭṭi, brother of Kaḷaṇi-Veṇṇi of Śaṅkarappaḍi who figures as a donor to the Viṣṇu temple at Suchīndram in a record¹ of the 9th year of the same viceroy, where his full name is given as Kaḷaṇi-Veṇṇi *alias* Madhurāntakap-pēraiaṇ. He must have been an individual of some consequence residing at Kōṭṭāru and his brother, the donor in the Chēramaṅgalam record, was employed as an *orrai-chēvakaṇ* in the army. Both of them must have accompanied Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya's army from the Chōḷa dominions, because Mayilaṭṭi is a name which is often met with in the Chōḷa inscriptions of the Tamil districts. *Orrai-chēvakaṇ* as a military term occurs in two inscriptions of the Pāṇḍya kings Māraṇjadaiyaṇ² and Vīra-Pāṇḍya,³ and it may mean 'soldiers engaged on spying work (*orru*=espionage and *orrai*=a spy); but then the word may have to be *orru-chēvakaṇ* or *orrai-chēvakaṇ*. *Orrai* means 'single' and *orrai-chēvakaṇ* were probably subordinate officers with some individual status as against an ordinary soldier who formed part and parcel of a battalion. It is noteworthy that some of the individuals mentioned in the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya inscriptions⁴ copied from the Suchīndram temple were influential military officers of the Chōḷa garrison:

1. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 135.
2. *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 158.
3. *ibid.* Vol. III, p. 73.
4. *ibid.* Vol. IV, pp. 132, 135, 137.

namely, *Śeṇāpati* Malayappichōḷaṇ, *Paḍaittalaivar* Kāvānai-Karuvūr and *Dandā-nāyakaṇ* Velāṇ-Śōlakēraḷaṇ. *Teṇ-Tiruvaraṅgamuḍaiyār* the god of the Vishṇu temple of Chēramaṅgalam and *Teṇ-Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyār* installed within the big temple at Suchindrum, were perhaps named after the gods of the highly sacred temples at Tiruvaraṅgam (Śrīraṅgam) and Tiruvēṅgaḍam (Tirupati) in the Madras Presidency.

It may be noted that donors' names were very often attached to the gifts made by them to the temples. In many cases the thrones, halls and other objects and gifts with which certain kings were connected, came to be called by their names or by some of the most distinctive of their *birudas*: e. g., Rājarājaṇ(-*maṇḍapa*), Ariyemavallāṇ(-*pandal*), Vīravallāṇ(-*śimhāsana*), Kulasekharāṇ(-*paḍi*), Kulōt-tuṅgasōḷaṇ (palace), Narasiṅgamuṇaiyariyar(-*ponḡal*), Sundara-Pāṇḍyaṇ(-*śaṇḍi*), Rājakeśarikkāl (a measure), Śērāntaka (vessel) are some of the many instances known from inscriptions. In a similar manner, the lamp-stand presented by Māyalaṭṭi was named Tiruvorūnichchēvakaṇ, after the donor's profession.

The second epigraph records that a certain Iraiyaṇ-Achchan gave surety for the payment by himself of the taxes due on certain temple lands, in case the principal party called Āyiravaṇ-Dēvaṇ went out of the village, and to further pay a fine of six *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold to the king or temple, if he acted against this agreement. *Maṇṇu-māripōkil* is an expression which has been tentatively rendered into 'if he leaves the assembly', *maṇṇu* signifying the meeting-place of the village assembly. The term *maṇṇāḍi* therefore refers to a member of the *maṇṇu*, i. e., one who pleads cases in a village assembly¹. It also means 'a shepherd'. The caste *mannāḍiyār* has however been derived from *maṇ*-earth and *nēḍiyār*-earners.

Mudukuḍi—is the name of the original Dravidian inhabitants whose modern representatives in the Travancore State are said to be the hill-tribes (*malaiyaravar*) called the Muduvar²; but it does not seem probable that Āyiravaṇ-Dēvaṇ of the present record belonged to that class. *Mūttakuḍi*³ occurs in the Kēraḷapuram inscriptions, where it refers to a family of dancing girls attached to the Śiva temple at that place.

The other four inscriptions, three in Vaṭṭeḷuttu and the fourth in Tamiḷ, are not of any importance, being but fragments. No. C seems to refer to a gift of an utensil called *giṇḍi* for use in the temple, while No. F states that the village of Chēramaṅgalam was a *brahmadēya* of Rājarāja-Teṇṇāḍu.

A

On the south base of the central shrine.

- 1 ஸ்ஷீஸ்ரீ [11*] கொச்சடையவன்மரான ஸ்ரீசந்தரசொழபாண்டியதெ
வர்க்கு யாண்டு பத்தொன்பதாவது சொழமண்டலத்தில் அருமொழி
தெவவள [நா*]ட்டு புறங்-

1. பழையமன்றாடிபோலுமிவனென்று பண்பின்மிக்க—*Periyapuram*.
2. *Poruḷadhikāra-ārāyechchi*, p. 11.
3. *Vide*. Kēraḷapuram records published below.
(A) Registered as No. 76 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. K.

- 2 காமப்பை நாட்டு முக்கரையான மும்முடிசொழபுரத்து இருக்கு[ம்*] ச
ங்கரபாடியான் கழனி [வெண்ணியென்] நம்பி திருவொற்றைச்செவக
மாயலட்டியென் இராசராசதெ[ன்*]னாட்டு சொமங்கலத்து தெவர்
தென்திருவரங்கமுடையார்[க்*]குச்
3 சந்திராதித்தவல் நின்றெரிய வைச்ச தாராவிளக்கு வெள்ளிக்கொலால்
நிறை அறுபது [1*] இவ்விளக்கு திருவொற்றைச்செவகன் என்பது
சந்திராதித்தவல் நின்றெரியும்படித் தருவொற்றைச்செவக மாயலட்டி
வைச்ச திருநந்தாவிளக்கு [11*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the nineteenth year of king Jātāvarman *alias* Śrī Sundarāsōla-Pāṇḍyadēva, Tiruvorraiachchēvaka-Māyalattī, brother of Kālānivēnni of Śaṅkarappāḍi residing in Mukkarai *alias* Mummudiśōlapuram, a village of Puraṅkarambai-nāḍu which is a sub-division of Arumolīdēva-vaḷanāḍu, a district of Śōla maṇḍalam, gave a zinc lamp-stand weighing sixty (*palam*) by the *vellikkōl*, for burning as long as the moon and sun (last) a perpetual lamp to the god Teṇ-Tiruvaramgamudaiyār of Śeramaṅgalam, (a village) of Rājaraḷa-Tēnnāḍu. This lamp-stand called Tiruvorraiachchēvakan is the perpetual lamp given by Tiruvorraiachchēvaka-Māyalattī, to burn as long as the moon and sun (endure).

B

On the south base of the central shrine.

- 1 ஸ்ரீவிழி [1*] கொச்சடையவன்மரான ஸ்ரீசந்தாசொழபாண்டியத்தெவர்-
[க்*]கு யாண்டு [ஆறு]வது தென்திருவரங்கமுடையார் கொவிளில்
முதுகுடி செந்தில் ஆயிரவ-
2 [தெ]வன் மன்றுமாறி பொகில் தன்கு¹ ஆக இறை புனைபடுவென் இவ்வூ
ரை³ மன்றடி
3 இறையான் அச்சன்னென் இப்படி அன்றென்[எ]ல் அன்றாடு கொவி-
னுக்கு² அறுகழ[ஞ்*]சு பொன் படுவொதாக
4 ஓட்டி திட்டு செலுத்துவதாக ஓட்டி கையத்திட்டுக் குடுத்தொம் இவ்விரு
வொம் சொமங்கலத்து ஸ்ரீமெயார்க்கு [11*]
5 இப்படி அறிவெ⁴

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the sixth year of king Jātāvarman *alias* Śrī-Sundarāsōla-Pāṇḍyadēva, I, Irāiyāṇ-Achchan a *maṇṇāḍi* of this village shall be security for the tax (due) as my (own) debt, if Āyiravaṇ-Dēvaṇ of Sendil the tenant (*mudukudi*) of the temple of Teṇ-Tiruvaramgamudaiyār should shift from (the jurisdiction of) this assembly. If I say nay to this, I shall incur a fine of six *kālāṇju* of gold to the king for each day (of default).

Thus, we two agreed (to the above) and gave a written declaration to the council (*sabhaiyār*) of Chēramaṅgalam. This (I) know

(B) Registered as No. 77 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

1. It is probably a contraction for தன் கட [ம்*] ஆக or கட [மை*] ஆக.

2. If it is கொவினுக்கு, the fine was payable to the temple.

3 Read இவ்வூர்.

4 The record stops here.

C

On the south base of the central shrine.

- 1 ஸ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ [*] செரமங்கலத்து இணைய சிங்க¹.
2 வீர[ன்*] தெனத்திருவாங்கமுடையா[ர*] [க்கு இட்ட கிண்டி²

D

On a pillar in front of the temple.

- 1 தென்ந்- 3 ன்கத்து
2 திருவா- 4 ஆழ்வார்

No. 9—An inscription from Tiruvanvandur.

Tiruvanvandūr which is known by the name of Tiruvenmandūr and Tiru-
vanmandūr in inscriptions is one of the thirteen holy places of Malai-maṇḍalam
sung in the hymns of Nammālvār. It is referred to in the *Nālāyirapraba-
ndham*⁴ as well as in *Māṇalāṅkārām*⁵ and *Aṣṭaprabandham*⁶ as Tiru-
vandūr, the change of *vandūr* into *maṇḍūr* being accounted for by the genius of
the Malayalam language (*c.f.*, *vaṇṇāṇ*, *maṇṇāṇ*;

(C) & (D). These are registered as Nos. 78 and 79 of Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. S. (Vatṭeḷuttu and Tamil).

- 1 Read இரணியசிங்கவீரன்.
2 A few letters mentioning the weight of the *giṇḍi* (vessel with a spout) are missing.
3 The following two inscriptions are fragmentary records in Vatṭeḷuttu.

E.—(No. 80 of 1093).

- 1 ஸ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ [*] இடவத்தில் வியா
2 ந்று செரமங்கலத்து தெவர் தென்றி
3 ட்டு அதியனாரான அழகியபாண்டி
4 திணைபூமி பட்டணமான
5 பொகம் ஆற்றுபுரத்து முத்தறை ஆ
6 றைக்கு மெக்கு காலுக்கு வட

F.—(On the *balikkal*).

- 1 ஸ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ [*] ராஜராஜத்தென்னாட்டு எ-
2 றுமெயம் செரமங்கலத்து ஆழ்வார் தென்திரு-
3 வரங்க

4 *Tiruvāymolī*, VI, 1.

5 மலர்மகள் சேர்மணிமார்பன் வைகலும் வைகலும் மறுகில்
வண்டுர் வண்டுர்

—*Māṇalāṅkārām*, v. 713.

6 தேகமுலகுமுயிருந் திரிந் துநிற்கும்
யாவும் படைத்த விதைகண்டிர்—பூவிற்
திருவண்வண்டுருதையுந் தேவாதிதேவன்
மருவண்வண்டுர் துளவமால்.

—*Nūrreṭṭu-tiruppaṭi-andādi*, v. 67.

The Viṣṇu temple at that place, which must therefore be of great antiquity dating at least from the time of Nannālvār, the Vaiṣṇava saint who has been considered by some to have flourished about the beginning of the 9th century, contains also epigraphical evidence of its early age in the two records of the Vēṇāḍu king Śrīvallabhaṅgōḍai (about A. D. 970) which have been published already. The present record can from its writing be approximately assigned to about the same period or a few decades later.

It registers a gift of some lands by Ediraṇ-Kaviraṇ of Kurattikkāḍu for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the Viṣṇu temple at Tiruvaṇmaṇḍūr, which were left in the hands of a body called the *aṅḡu-gaṇattār*¹, who were to enjoy the lands and burn the lamp in the temple. The donor, however, retained the right to take back the lands from these men if they were remiss in their service and to give them to his own descendants to cultivate and continue the supply of ghee for the perpetual lamp. The 'three-hundred' of Nannulāi-nāḍu were entrusted with the general supervision of this charity.

It is interesting to note that in all the three epigraphs of Tiruvaṇmaṇḍūr the transgressors were threatened with the penalty of the operation of the Mūlik-kāḷa-kachcham, which must have wielded considerable influence in those days. Mūlikkāḷam or Mūshikakūḷam was one of the four places, where an early *kuḷakam* (*kaḷakam*) or assembly was installed according to the *Kēraḷōḷppatti*.

The proper names occurring in the record are:

Ediraṇ-Kaviraṇ of Kurattikkāḍu (in the Tiruvalla taluk),
 Śēnnaṇ-Kammaṇ of Charuppēdimāṅgalam,
 Śāttāṇ-Kīraṇ of Tāḷaṇṇīri,
 Śuvaraṇ-Śāttāṇ of Nēṛṣyaṇamaṅgalam,
 Devaṇ-Śēnnaṇ of Elumūlaichebēri,
 Śaṅkaraṇ-Suvaraṇ of Tāḷaimaṇ, and
 Vaḍukikōḍu and Uḍiyaṅkōḍu among names of fields.

Text.²

- 1 . . . கர் . [ட]கத்துள் வியாழ நிற்க மிரிச்சிகஞாயிற்றுச் செய்த காரியமா
 வது[1*] திருவெண்மண்டுர் பட்டாரகர் திருவடிக்கு குறத்திகாட்டு எதி
 ரங்கவிரர் அமைச்ச நந்தாவிளக்கினு திருவெண்மண்டுர் ஊரா-
- 2 . . . முன்று பொன் கொடுத்து [கொ]ண்ட பூமி[1*]வடுகிகொடும் உதியன்
 கொட்டில் பாதியும் இவ்விர[ண்டு] பூமியும் நந்தாவிளக்கினு அமைச்சரன்
 [1*] இநந்தாவிளக்கினு ஐஞ்ச கணத்தாரும் நெய் யட்டக்கடவியர் [1*]
 இவ்வஞ்ச கணத்தாரும் உழவு அடுத்தாலு ஒருநாள் [முட்]டிக்கில்
- 3 . . . ம் உழுமவகளுக்கு இப்பூமி விலக்கிலும் திருவிளக்கு முட்டிக்கிலும் மூ
 ழிக்களத்து படுவதெ [1*] முட்டிச்சவனு அண்பந்தம் பறையுமவனும்
 பெருமானடிகள் திருவடிக்கு ஐம்பதிங் கழைஞ்ச பொன்தண்டம் . . .
 . . . நாவொழுமவர்க்கும் இருபத்தைங்[கழைஞ்ஞ] பொன்தத்-

1 Compare also the *pañcagāṇas* of the epic age and the *aṁperuṅḡuḷu* of Tamil literature.

2 This is registered as No. 16 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 M. R.

- 4 . . . சருப்பெதிமங்கலத்து செந்நங் கண்ணனும் தா[ழ]ஞ்செரியுடை சா
த்தங் கிரனும் நாராயணமங்கலயுடை சவரஞ் சாத்தனும் எழுமுனைச்செ
ரியுடைய தெவஞ் செந்நனும் தாழைமன்னனுடைய சங்கராஞ் சவரனும்
இவகள் ஐய்வரும் இப்பூமிக்கு இ[றை] அ[மி]ச்சினு
- 5 யிராதொழிவொராயில் இவகளுடைய செல[மிது]¹ எப்படிப்பட்டி
தும் விலக்கி யுள் தடுத்துவைச்ச மிட்டிக்கொள்ளக்கடவிய²ன் [1*] ஒரு
திவள் அடுத்து முட்டிக்கில் அவன் தந்ததி³ உழுது நின்று நெய்யட்டக்
கடவியர் [1*] இத்திருவிளக்கு வைச்சான் குறத்திகாட்டு எதி-
- 6 டான் நன் னுழநாட்டு முந்நாற்றுவரும் கண்டு செலுத்தக் கடவியர்[11*]

Translation.

In the month of Vriśchika when Jupiter stood in . . . ṭaka, the following transaction was made:—

Edirañ-Kavirañ of Kuṟattikāḍu gave, by purchase for . 3 poṇ from the *ārār* of Tiruvenmaṇḍur, the two (pieces of) lands Vaḍugi-kōḍu and a half of Uḍiyañ-kōḍu, for the perpetual lamp which he instituted in the temple of (the god) Tiruvenmaṇḍūr-Bhaṭṭāraka. The five representatives (*gaṇattār*) shall measure out ghee to this perpetual lamp. If in the cultivation of this land be stopped for one day, if the tenants be ejected from this land, and if the sacred lamp fail (to be lighted), they shall be subject to (the penalty of) Mūlikkaḷam. The defaulter and he who abets him shall pay a fine of fifty *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold to the king (Perumānaḍigaḷ-Tiruvaḍi) and a fine of twenty-five *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold to the officer administering the district.

Sēṇṇaṇ-Kaṇṇaṇ of Saruppēdimaṅgalam, Sāttaṇ-Kīraṇ of Tālañjēri, Śuvaṛaṇ-Sāttaṇ of Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam, Devaṇ-Sēṇṇaṇ of Elunulaichchēri, Saṅkaraṇ-Śuvaṛaṇ of Tālaṇimaṇ—these five persons shall pay the tax on this land; if they fail to do so, the lands shall be taken back from them forfeiting their expenditure. If there is default for one month consecutively, his (the donor's) descendants shall cultivate the lands and supply the ghee. This sacred lamp was (thus) given by Edirañ-Kaviraṇ of Kuṟattikāḍu. The 'three-hundred' of Nannuḷa-nāḍu shall also supervise this supply (of ghee).

No. 10—Fragmentary record of Indukodaivarman.

This inscription is engraved on the base of the *surru-maṇḍapa* of the same Viṣṇu temple at Tiruvaṇḍūr. It is in the Vaṭṭeluttu alphabet and is so completely defaced that only a few syllables are legible here and there. The incomplete transcript is, however, given below, as the record is dated in the year opposite to the fifth year of the early king Kō-Indukōḍaivarman,⁵ whose position

- 1 Compare the restriction,
மிகமுட்டிக்கில் சென்ற செலவினோடு பாட்டம் விடக்கடவியர்
occurring in the Tirukkudittanāṁ inscription, *T. A. S.*, Vol. II, p. 36.
- 2 *y* is engraved below the line.
- 3 The two *த*'s are written below the line.
- 4 The missing syllables are clearly 'நங்கலி' in this instance.
- 5 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III, p. 162.

in the Chēra genealogy has been fixed before Bhaskara Ravivarman. The record further mentions Kumaraṇ-Kunrappōlan, and the *muṇḍaravār* of Nanṇulai-nāḍu.

Text.²

- 1 கொவிந்து கொதைவர்ம்மார்க்குச்சே [ய்யா]மாண்டைக்
கெதிராமாண்டு
- 2 நன்றுழநாட்டு முந்துற்றுவரும் சுஞ் செந்தனு மங்கலத்து
குமரங்குன்றப்பொழனு நன்றுழைநாட்டு . யனும் இநால்வரும் . . .
- 3
சுச் திருவெண்மன்றும்

No. 11—Peruneyil inscription of the 11th century A. D.

This inscription is engraved on the south base of the central shrine in the temple at Peruneyil which is a suburb of Chenganachery. It is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and the Tamil language. On palaeographical grounds the record may be assigned to about the end of the 10th or to the beginning of the 11th century A. D., as the characters are very much like those of the records of that period.

It registers a gift of some paddy and land by a certain Ediraṇ-Kaviraṇ of Jñāvarkkāḍu for feeding one thousand brahmans during the annual festival of the temple falling in the month of Kanni. It may be noted that in an epigraph from Tiruvaṇṇaḍūr of about the same period as this, a certain Ediraṇ-Kaviraṇ of Kurattikkāḍu (Tiruvalla taluk) figures as a donor of a perpetual lamp to the Viṣṇu temple of that place and as the reading Jñāvarkkāḍu of the present record is not quite free from doubt, it is probable that the two individuals were identical.

The recipients of the gift were the members of the *tirunālgaṇam* and the *poduvāl* of Peruneydal. The defaulter was subject to the payment of a fine of 100 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold to the *Kōyiladhikāri* who belonged to the ministry (*amaichchulḷu-rutta?*), 50 *kaḷaṇṇu* to the ruler of the district and 12 *kaḷaṇṇu* to the immediate controlling authority, perhaps the village official. The *kōyiladhikāri* has here taken the place of *perumāṇaḍigaḷ* (king), to whom the first penalty was generally payable. *Tirunālgaṇam*³ represents the body of men who looked after the festivals of the temple. *Gaṇa* as a body corporate in religious institutions is well-known from ancient times when it wielded political power also.

The contributions of cocoanuts, plantains etc. which the *viḷvārīyār* had to provide for the feeding during the annual festivals of the temple were the customary perquisites which they had to supply from the *pañchabhōgam*⁴ or the five products of a typical West Coast garden, viz.,

1. Kombu-chakka, a jack for each tree,
2. Kula-tēṅgā, a bunch of cocoanuts,

1 Registered as No. 100 of the Trav. Epir. Colln. for 1086 M. E.

2 The *utsava-saṅkētas* of the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Mahābhārata* appear to be similar corporate bodies and not tribes: शैरुत्सवसंकेतान् स कृत्वा विरतोत्सवान् and गणान् उत्सवसंकेतान् अजयन् सप्त पाण्डवाः.

3 Trav. State Manual. Vol. III, p. 319.

3. Kula-aḍakka, a bunch of arecanuts,
4. Kula-vāḷai, a bunch of plantains, and
5. Vettu-ōla, share in the coconut leaves cut.

The *podurāl* had also to supply some vegetables on these occasions on behalf of the lands which they were enjoying as *virutti*-holdings. In lieu of this load of vegetables, its commuted value (*chumattu-panam*)¹ was sometimes payable by the tenants.

Text.²

- 1 ஸ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ[II*] கன்னியில் வியாழந் நிற்[க*]கன்னி ஞாயிற்று ஞாயிருண்ட அச்சவதி நாள் பெருநெய்தல முக்கால்வட்டத் திருந்து திருநாள்க்கணத்தாரும் பொதுவாரும் அவ்ரொத்த[த*]தால் கூடிச் செய்த கருமமாவது[II*]இத் திருநாள்க்கணத்தார்க்கு ஞாவலக்காட்டு எதிரங்கவிரன் களத்திலொடியாகின்ற பூமி இருதூற்றுக் கலத்தின் மெலும் முஞ்ஞாடு[வு]டைய ஆசைச்சங் கொதைக்கு எதிரங்கவிரன் கொடுத்துடைய நெல் பதினாழிப்பறையால் ஆயிரம் பறையும் விற்றிரட்டிச்ச [வண்ணம்] பதினாழிப்பறையால் ஈராயிரம் பறையெல்லும் ஆட்டா-
- 2 ண்டும் கன்னிஞாயிற்றொறும் திருநாள்க்கணத்தாருடைய திருவாராதனத்தில ஆயிரவர் பிராமமணரை அமிர்ந்து சைய்விப்பிதாகத் திருநாள்க் கணத்தார் பொதுவாள் கைய்யி லட்டிக்[கொ]டுத்தான் எதிரங்கவிரன்[II*] இத்திருவாராதனம் பத்துநாளிலும் கன்னிஞாயிற் றமரவசூத்தத்தில் பஞ்சமி துடங்கி நியதி நூறு நூறு மானிடத்தை அமிர்ந்து சைய்யிச்ச ஆருட்டக்கடவர் ஆட்டாண்டும் வாரியரும் பொதுவாரும் எதிரங்கவிரனும்[II*]இதர வழியால் [ஒரொத்தர்]ஒரொத்தர் இரட்டிரட்டை சூலை³ வாழைக்காயும் ஒரொ சூலை³ வாழைப்பழமும்
- 3 முபது பத்து தெங்காயும் ஒரொத்தொருத்த ரிரட்டிரண்டு கறியும் இருநாழிச் சைய்துப்பும் இருபலஞ் சைய்துபுளியும் அஞ்ஞாழிச் சைய்துகயிரும் பதினாழிச் சைய்துமோரும் கொண்டு வந்து தத்தமக்கு பட்ட நாள் கொண்டு வந்து அகத்து பந்திரடியில் முன்னைய விழாவாரியரும் பொதுவாளொடு கூட அளவு கொடுத்தமிர்து சைய்யிக்க கடவர்[II*]பொதுவா ளிரு நூறு புளிக்கறி கொண்டு வந்து கொடுக்ககடவன்[II*] திரிஞ்ஞா பந்திரடியில் முன்னையமிர்து சைய்யிச்ச விழாப்பலி புறப்படக்கடவர் வாரியரும் பொதுவாரும்[II*]இ[லை]யும் வறகும் வத்திர விழாச்சைய்யுமவகள் கொண்டு
- 4 அடிக்க கடவர்[II*]இப்பரிசெய் இத்திருவிழாவிற்கு எதிரங்கவிரன்மைச்சசெலவு அமைஞ்ஞவண்ணம் முட்டாதெ செலுத்தக் கடவர் திருநாள்க்கணத்தாரும் பொதுவாரும்[II*]இப்பரி சொட்டினகாலத்து முட்டாதெ செலுத்தாதொழிவராகில் அமைச்சள்ளு[றுத்த]கொயிலதிகாரிக்கு நூற்றுக்கழைஞ்ஞம் நாடுவாமுமவர்க்கு அயம்பதின கழைஞ்ஞம் வாழ்க்கைவாமுமவர்க்கு பந்திருகழைஞ்ஞ பொன் தண்ட[ப்]பட[க்*]கடவர்[II*]இடையிடன் இச்செலவினு விரொதிக்கில் இத்தண்டம் பொ-

1 Trav. State Manual, Vol. III, p. 335.

2 Registered as No. 14 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 M. E. (Also No. 85 of 1086).

3 சூலை looks like கரு.

[ன்*]னும் பட்டு தவைக்கும் பந்திரு கழைஞ்ஞு பொன் தண்டம் வைச்சு
காட்டப்பெறக்¹ கடவன் [||*]திருநாள்க்கணத்தா-

- 5 றுடைய கரியில் புக்கு விலக்குமவரும் பொருள் கவரும்வரும் இ[த்*]தண்-
டம்படக்கடவிவர் [||*]இவமைஞ்ஞு கறியும் முட்டி யூண்வொன்று கு-
றையிலும் கொண்டுவாரா தொழிஞ்ஞு கணத்தான் இரண்டரைக் காணம்
பொன் தண்டம் வைச்சு[க் கொண்டு]அடைக்காயமிது மிடக்கடவியன்
[||*]கனத்தினுலெ²டி[நெல்லு] ஆதிச்சங்கொதை தந்து செல்லானாகில்
³முழுவது திருநாள்க்கணத்தாரும் பொதுவாரும் எதிரங்கவிரனும் கூடி-
மற்றொரு பூமி மெலிட்டு எதிரங்கவிரனைக்கொண்டு காராண்மை செய்யி-
ச்சு ஆண்டாண்டும் எண்ணுழிப்பறையா விருநாறுபறை
- 6 க அரிகருதின⁴ கொடுக்ககடவன் [||*]எதிரங்கவிரனும் தந்ததியும் இப் பூமி
காராண்மைச் செய்து நெல்லளப்பா னற்றொதொழிகில் கணத்தாரும் பொ-
துவாரும் தாங்ஙளெய் உழுது கொண்டு செலுத்தக்கடவர்[||*]எதிரங்கவி-
ர[னும்] அவன் பெண்ணு பிள்ளையும் ருகிக்கக்கடவர் பொதுவாரும் கண-
த்தாரும் [||*]எதிரங்கவிரனாக பெண்ணும் பிள்ளைக்கும் தந்ததிக்கும்-
[மு]டைய-

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! The following is the transaction made unanimously on the day of *Aśvati* which was a Sunday in the month of *Kaṇṇi* (of the year) in which Jupiter stood in *Kanyā-rāśi* when, in the temple at *Peruneydal* were assembled together the *tirunāḷḡaṇattār* (i. e., the body of men managing the temple festivals) and the *poduvāl*. In order that one thousand *Brāhmanas* may be fed each year during the festivals conducted by the *tirunāḷḡaṇattār* in the month of *Kaṇṇi*, *Ediraṇ-Kaviraṇ* of *Jñāvalkādu* gave with libation of water to this body of *tirunāḷḡaṇam*, the land called *Kaḷattināḷōḍi* with the sowing capacity of two-hundred *kalam* of seed, and two thousand *parai* of seed-paddy measured by the *parai* holding ten *nāḷi*, as doubled by sale from the quantity of one thousand *parai* of paddy measured by the *parai* of ten *nāḷi*, given by *Ediraṇ-Kaviraṇ* to *Ādichchan Kōḍai* of *Muṇṇi-nāḍu*. Annually, the *vāriyar*, the *poduvāl* and *Ediraṇ-Kaviraṇ* shall feed daily one hundred men during the ten days of this festival commencing from the fifth *tiṭhi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Kaṇṇi* and have the *ārāṭṭu* (ceremony done). By a different arrangement have the *viḷā-vāriyār* each by himself, separately and individually, to bring on the days fixed for them, two bunches of unripe plantain, one bunch of plantain fruits, ten cocoanuts, two kinds of vegetables, two *nāḷi* of pure salt, two *palam* of good tamarind, five *nāḷi* of good curds, ten *nāḷi* of good buttermilk, have them measured out to the *poduvāl* before the twelve-feet-time before noon, and have the feeding conducted. The *poduvāl* shall bring and give two hundred vegetables for frying (for the occasions). After the feeding is made, and before the twelve-feet-time afternoon, the bali-procession of the festival shall be started by the *vāriyar* and the *poduvāl*. Those who perform the *Uttira-festival* shall supply leaves and fuel.

1 This may be also a mistake for காட்டம் பெறக்கடவன்; if it is காட்டக்கடவன், பெற is unnecessary.

2 Engraved above the line.

3 Read விழாவ்.

4 This is not understood.

5 The name of the donor is repeated in the original.

Thus, the *tirunālganattār* and the *poduvāl* shall expend according to the scale of expenses fixed by Edirañ-Kaviraṇ for this festival and without causing any default. If they fail to so expend without default and at the stated times, they shall be liable to pay a fine of one hundred *kaḷaṇju* of gold to the Kōyiladhikāri (in the presence) of the ministers, fifty *kaḷaṇju* (of gold) to the ruler of the district, and twelve *kaḷaṇju* to the *vāḷḷkaivāḷumavaṇ* (immediate controlling authority). If the *iḍaiyīḍaṇ* (here refers to the cultivator) objects to the expenses, he shall, besides paying the above fixed fines, pay a fine of twelve *kaḷaṇju* of gold to the assembly, so as to be seen by others. Those who enter on the lands of the *tirunālganattār* and eject (the tenants) and those who exact money from (them) shall be subject to these fines. If the stipulated vegetables fail and the feeding is diminished even by one, the *ganattār* who failed to bring the dues, shall pay a fine of two and a half *kāṇam* of gold together with (supplying) betel-leaves¹ and nuts. If Ādichchaṇ-Kōḍai fail to give his dues on Kaḷattinālōḍi, the *tirunālganattār* the *poduvāl* and Edirañ-Kaviraṇ shall conjointly invest (the capital) on some other land and, getting that land cultivated by Edirañ-Kaviraṇ, shall pay annually two hundred *paṇai*, as measured by the *paṇai* holding eight *nāḷi*, and If Edirañ-Kaviraṇ and his successors become incapable of cultivating this land and measuring out the paddy, the *ganattār* and the *poduvāl* shall themselves take up the cultivation and supply (the paddy).

(In that case), the *ganattār* and the *poduvāl* shall protect Edirañ-Kaviraṇ and his male and female relations.² Edirañ-Kaviraṇ belonging to his male and female relations.

No. 12.— Peruneyil Inscription of Kulasekhara-Koyiladhikari.

This inscription is engraved on a slab set up on the west side of the central shrine in the temple at Peruneyil. It is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and the language is the western dialect of Tamil with a few peculiarities.

The record is dated in the 8th year opposite to the 2nd of the reign of Kulaśekhara-Kōyiladhikāri but does not give the Kollam year, stating only that Jupiter was in the Karkātaka-rāsi. The inscription of the Rāmēśvara temple at Quilon dated in Kollam 278 and mentioning a Kōyiladhikāri Kulaśekhara-Chakravartin cannot be far removed from this record in point of time.

It registers a royal order issued by Kulaśekhara-Kōyiladhikāri who was staying at Neḍiyataḷi, granting an annual income of forty *kalam* along with *arandai* in favour of the temple of Peruneyil for the expenses of feeding some persons in the temple and for having the *Mahābhārata* expounded. The recipients of the grant were the members of the village assembly and the *poduvāl*. The grant was ratified at the command of the Kōyiladhikāri by the chieftains of the two villages of Kāpālimaṅgalam and Muttūru, who promised not to collect the *arandai* thereafter.

1 *Adai* means 'leaf' and *kāy* areca-nut— 'நெய்யிடைநல்லைதோர் சோழம் நெய்யுடைநல்லை
யும்.'—*Tiruppallāṇḍu*, though *adai* now signifies only nuts.

2 The wording of this last portion is not quite free from doubt.

Two other place-names occur in the inscription, *viz.*, Kāmakkāṇappaḷḷi¹ and Kuḍamba-nāḍu². Of these Kāpālīmaṅgalam and Kāmakkāṇappaḷḷi appear in the Tiruvalla plates and Neḍiyataḷi³ is mentioned in two records of Tirukkākkarai. Muttūrrukūṛram figures in *Puram* 24 as being subject to the sway of one of the Velir chiefs. A place named Muttūrrumūlai⁴ is mentioned in the Tiruvalla plates. But this Muttūru⁵ may possibly be Muttūru in the Tiruvalla taluk.

Padi or *Kuḍippadi* is the term which has been applied to the chieftains of Puppattalappati⁶ and Pūlaikkudippati, mentioned in the Kottayam plates of Sthānu-Ravi. The term *āṭṭaikkol* means 'what is obtained during the year'. *Tirukkai-nanāichē-aruliyār* which literally means 'was pleased to wet the hands' is used to indicate that the gift was made 'with libation of water'. *Padiyurutti* (l. 55) literally 'impressed on the chiefs' means that the order was conveyed to the chiefs. The sparing use of the dialectic forms *olla* (l. 4) *aruliyār* (l. 23, 70, 71), and *vaṇṇa* (l. 58) may be noted. The meaning of *arandai* is not clear, but it seems to signify some kind of tax in money or in kind payable to *dēśavāḷis*; its literary synonym is 'misery'.

Text.⁷

- 1 ஸ்தூலி ஸ்ரீ [II*] இரா-
- 2 மாண்டைக்கெதிர் எ-
- 3 டடாமாண்டு சூலை-
- 4 செகர கொயிலதி-
- 5 காரிகள் திருவிரா-
- 6 ச்சியஞ் செல்லா-
- 7 னின்ற கர்க்கடகத்-
- 8 தில் வியாழத்தி-
- 9 ல் விரிச்சிக-
- 10 ஞாயிற்று நாலு
- 11 தனியையுந் திரு-
- 12 க்ருன்றப்பொழை-
- 13 யுங் கூட்டி கொ-
- 14 ண்டு நெடியதளி
- 15 இருந்நருளி பெரு-
- 16 நெய்தல் ஆட்டைக்-
- 17 கொளால் நால்ப்ப-
- 18 தின் கலந் நெல்-
- 19 லும் பெருநெய்த-
- 20 ல் அரந்தையும் அ-

1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II. p. 154.

2 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 183.

3 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 47.

4 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 163.

5 ஒத்துவினியுனிநியபுஷ்யம் பிணிவினியு மொம்

ஒனியு மொம் விரவொடு நலவ நாவுகோசிக வயங்க—

Uppumilīśandēśam. v. 125.

6 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 82.

7 This is registered as No. 15 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 M. E. (Also No. 87. of 1086).

No. 12—RECORD OF KULASEKHARA-KOYILADHIKARI.

*First side.**Second side.*

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Third side.

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- 21 ட்டில்பெறாய் தி-
 22 ருக்கை நனைச்ச-
 23 ருளியார் [1*] ஆட்டைக்
 24 கொள் நமக்காரமும்
 25 மாபாரதமுந் தி-
 26 ருவுள்ளம் பண்-
 27 ணியருளியார். அ-
 28 மைச்சுள்ளு பதி¹-
 29 ய குலைசெக்கரகொ
 30 யிலதிகாரிகள். [11*]

Second face.

- 31 ஆட்டைக்கொள்
 32 நாற்பதின்சுல்-
 33 மும் அரந்தையு-
 34 ம் பெருநெய்தல்
 35 ஊரும் பொதுவா-
 36 ளும் அட்டில்பெ-
 37 றாய் கொண்டார் [11*] கோயி-
 38 லதிகாரிக-
 39 ள் காபாலிவந்-
 40 லத்தும் முததூ-
 41 றறும் ஒள்ள
 42 குடிபதிக்-
 43 கு திருமுக-
 44 ந் திருவுள்ளம்
 45 பண்ணிக்² காம-
 46 க்கானப்பள்ளி
 47 இராமந் தாய்-
 48 னும் கட்டமன்
 49 னாட்டு நாராய்-
 50 ண் நாராயணனும்
 51 ஊரப்பொதுவா-
 52 ளுங் கூடி திரு-
 53 [மு]கம் பதியுறு-
 54 த்தி [1*] இரண்டூர்-
 55 [க்] குடிபதியு-
 56 ம் பெருநெய்தல்
 57 [மு]க்கால்வ-
 58 ட்டத்தது வந்நு

Third face.

- 59 கூடி அ-
 60 ரந்தை³ அ-

1. அமைச்சுள்ளு [த*] திய seems to be a better reading. Compare also அமைச்சுள்ளுத்த கோயில்திகாரிகளுக்கு (T. A. S., II, p. 44) and அமைச்சுள்ளுத்த கோயில்திகாரிக்கு (T. A. S., V, p. 35)

2 Read பண்ணக்.

3 The word *arandai* has been used in the sense of 'misery' in *Silappadigaram*.

அரந்தை கெடுத்து வரந்தருமிவனென ஆடித்திங்கள் கவையினுங்கோர் — *Uraippurukattai*, 3.

- 61 டிக்கும-¹
 62 தொழிஞ்-
 63 டெனாமென்-
 64 னு கல் எ-
 65 முதி நா-
 66 டிக்குக் கொ
 67 தெத்தார்
 68 திருவுள்-
 69 எம் பண்-
 70 னையருளி-
 71 ப மார்-
 72 க்கமெ [11*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the eighth year current opposite to the second year of the prosperous reign of Kulaśekhara-Kōyilādhikāriḡaḡ, when Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka and in the month of Vriśchika, Kulaśekhara-Kōyilādhikāri, who having taken the four *talis*² and Tirukkunṇappōlai (with him), was pleased to be present in Nediyatali, and was pleased to grant, after informing the ministry, as an *aṭṭippēru* with libation of water, the forty *kalam* of paddy accruing annually from Peruneydal along with the *arandai* of Peruneydal. He was pleased to order the feeding (of persons) and (the reading of) the Mahābhārata from (this) annual income. (The members of the assembly of) the village of Peruneydal and the *poduvāl* received as *aṭṭippēru* the annual income of forty *kalam* and *arandai*. Kōyilādhikāriḡaḡ issued a royal order to the chieftains of the inhabitants of Kāpālimaṅgalam and Muttūru; Rāman-Tāyaṅ of Kāmakkāṇappalli and Nārāyaṇaṅ-Nārāyaṇaṅ of Kadamba-nāḍu as well as the *ūr-poduvāl* conjointly informed the chieftains of (this) royal order; the chieftains of the inhabitants of these two villages came to the temple of Peruneydal and caused the fact that they, as stated in the royal order, shall refrain from obtaining the *arandai*, to be engraved on stone and had it set up.

No. 13.—Quilon inscription of Kollam 278.

This record is engraved on a pillar set up in the compound of the Rāmēśvaraśvāmin temple at Quilon. It is very much weather-worn and the inscription which is so illegible in many places as to render it difficult to trace its proper continuity as a whole, is given below in its incomplete state. Fortunately, however, the introductory portion which contains the main interesting details of the record is clear enough.

In the *Annual Report* for 1095 M. E., Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar has made the following note on this inscription:—

'No. 54 of Appendix B comes from the Rāmēśvara temple at Quilon. It is dated in the month of Simha of the Kollam year 278 (A. D. 1103) and in the

1 அடிக்குமது in the sense of 'collecting' is rather rare. *Aḍukṭuvadu* is a fee due to the Sirkar payable by a successor to property or tenure (*State Manual*). It also signifies the right retained by the proprietor from the purchaser.

2 This has been explained on page 43 *infra*.

3 Logan defines *palī* as an intermediary between the *koṇ* and the actual landholder.

2nd + 14th year of the king's reign, when Jupiter was in the sign Virgo. This yields A. D. 1087 for the accession of the king. That portion of the record which contains the name of the king is much damaged; but it can be tentatively read as Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi. The Kōyiladhikāri *i. e.*, the officer in charge of the king's palace who must have been a near relation of his, probably the senior prince, while staying in the palace at Paṇaiṅgāvu in Kurakkēni-Kollam (*i. e.*, Quilon) ordered certain grants of lands to be made to the temple of Rāmēchchuram, as an atonement for the enmity incurred with the Āryas. It is not quite clear who are meant by the term Āryas. Perhaps, there is here a reference to the Tamil followers of the Chālukya-Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I, who, at this time, invaded the south-western portion of the Peninsula (*South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. I, p. 144.) subdued the five Pāṇḍyas, burnt the fort of Kōṭṭāru and crushed the army of the Kēraḷas (*S. I. I.* Vol. I, p. 168). Since Quilon was an important place in the dominion of the Vēṇaḍu kings from the earliest times, it may not be unreasonable to take the Rāma-Tiruvaḍi of this record as one of its rulers, though the possibility of his being a member of the Chēra line is not precluded. And the temple of Rāmēchchuram might have been named after him. But if it were still earlier, it should have been founded by the Vēṇaḍu king Rāma-Tiruvaḍi who figures in the Kottayam grant of Sthāṇu-Ravi of the ninth century A. D.

Two other records belonging to a king called Kulaśekhara-Kōyiladhikāriḷ and Kulaśekhara-Perumāl respectively have been copied at Peruneyil¹ and Tiruvālūr² and they have been published *ante*. The former is dated in the 8th year opposite to the 2nd year when the position of Jupiter was in the Karkāṭaka-rāśi, while the latter was issued in the year opposite to the same 2nd year when Jupiter stood in Makara. As the Quilon record also bears some illegible date (புது . . மார்ச்சு) opposite to the same 2nd year, and as the script of the three different epigraphs is of about the same period, there is nothing improbable in identifying the three kings with one another. The planet Jupiter which was in the Makararāśi in the 2nd + 1st year (expired?) was correctly in Karkāṭaka six years later in the 2nd + 8th year; and as it had travelled on to Kanni by the time of the Quilon inscription, the date of that record can be only 2 years later than that of the Peruneyil epigraph, and its illegible date portion can therefore be calculated as 2nd + 11th year and not 2nd + 14th year, when Jupiter will have journeyed a few more houses farther off than Kanni.

It has to be noticed that while the records of Peruneyil and Tiruvālūr are expressly dated in the distinctive reign of Kulaśekhara, the Quilon epigraph introduces a Śrī Kulaśekhara-chakravartin who was the Kōyiladhikāri of [Rāma]-Tiruvaḍi³. The title of 'Chakravartin' given to the former coupled with the fact that the other two records mention him as the reigning king (*tiruvirāḷyā chella-ninra*) seems, however, to point to the possibility that 'Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi' to whom Kulaśekhara was the Kōyiladhikāri may refer to the god⁴ at Quilon. A better interpretation is possible of considering Rāma-Tiruvaḍi-Kōyiladhikāriḷ as the name of the

1. vide page 38 *supra*.

2. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 145.

3. Another reading also seems possible—செளந்தரர் திருவடி, who may have been an earlier namesake of Vīrarāyavarman of A. D. 1645. (*Cochin Manual*, p. 80).

4. *Tiruvaḍi* is a title applied to gods, kings, queens and saints, of Tiruandikkarai-Bhaṭṭaraka-Tiruvaḍi.

king and Kulaśekhara-chakravartigaḷ as an *alias* (*āyina*) or his regal title. If however, Rāma-Tiruvaḍi was the king and Kulaśekhara, his *Kōyiladhikāri*, then who have to consider that both of them attained to their respective positions in the same year and that the latter while referring himself to the regnal year of his suzerain in the territory of Quilon, has styled himself as regular king in the more northern territory. Future discoveries can alone decide this point one way or the other; but it looks more probable that Kulaśekhara of these records was a Chēra king and that Quilon was his southern outpost where he had encamped for some time in the palace at Pappāṅgāvu¹ at the time of the present record. The record further on states that there was a subordinate chief Vikkīraman, who was administering the Quilon territory (l. 47-8), but unfortunately that particular portion is too-damaged to furnish any clear information. It may be noted that the Cochin Rajas still style themselves as *Kōyiladhikāri*gaḷ in documents relating to the landed property of temples,² their usual title being 'Perumbaḍappu Gangādhara Virakēraḷa Tirukkōyiladhikārigaḷ.'³

As regards the enmity with the Āryas for which the expiatory donation of offering worship in the Rāmēśvaram temple at Quilon was instituted by the king, it is not definitely known if the sin referred to was that of fighting with the invading forces of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I. As a Kshatriya, his *dharma* lay in fighting against his enemies and it could not have been a sin to be atoned for. No doubt Bālamārttāṇḍavarman, the Conqueror, organised the Murajapam and other ceremonies to wash off the sins of his 'wars of aggression'; but here it was only one of defence. The term 'Āryas' may have probably been used to refer to brahmans or to *tavaiyāriyar* of other records, some of whom the king may have molested and maltreated either justly or wantonly, and that as an act of expiation for his outrage on members of the highest caste (the *bhāsurās*) connected with the temple management, he may have bestowed some gifts to the temple. The fact that 'Ārya-brāhmaṇas' (ll. 33-4) are stated to have mustered strong in the temple along with other State officers on the occasion of this gift, seems to favour this view. There have been many instances in which delinquent chiefs or kings either voluntarily or under the moral stress of public opinion as voiced by the religious corporations called *yōgams*, made ample amends for their acts of petty tyranny and coercion. Notable among these are the following cases recorded in the temple chronicles of Trivandrum, which bear a resemblance to the present incident:

(i) Vīra-Kēraḷavarman Tiruvaḍi⁴ paid some land compensation to the survivors of certain Deśikaḷ (brahman immigrants) whom he had murdered at Nilaimēlkunnu and also made a gift of 157 *kōṭṭas* of land and 30,000 *paṇam* to the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandrum for assaulting some temple servants;

1. This palace also occurs in the Mamballi plate of Vallabhaṅḍōḍai (A. D. 974) - *T. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 9. *Ummamiliśandēśam* (c. 1350) has in verse 74:

തേരേവീനെ പ്രിയസഖ പനങ്ങാവതത്തിന്നകംപു.

അരേവം ജ. അഖിലജഗതനം തേരേവീം തേരേവീം തം.

2. *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 117.

3. *Cochin State Manual*, p. 39.

4. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 264.

(ii) Vīra Mārttāṇḍavarman¹ made a similar expiatory donation to that temple for having put to death several men in the war that took place near Kili-mānūr;

(iii) Vīra Ravivarman² bestowed some gifts to the temple at Trivandrum for wrongly appropriating properties belonging to the Kuruvai-*illam*; and

(iv) Vīra Rāmavarman³ atoned for certain atrocities committed by him in Āyḱōṇam, Vīranarārāyaṇachēri and Puliyakuruchchi by making a gift of an elephant to the temple.

These penalties were called *garvakkattu* or amercement for highhandedness; and other similar instances may be multiplied. In all these cases, the question of expiation came in only when sins were committed on the king's own volition during wars of aggression or in petty acts of despotism, and it therefore seems probable that the incident recorded in the Quilon inscription may have been also of a similar nature.

One other point deserves mention, *viz.*, that in both this and the Peruneyil epigraphs the king is stated to have been accompanied by the four *taḷi*:

நா லுதனியையுந் திருக்குன்றப்போழையுந் கூட்டிக்கொண்டு நெடியதனி
யிருந்நருளி —Peruneyil,

நா லுதனியு பாயிரம் அறுதூற்றுவரும் இந்நாடுவாழ்க்கையான்
முதலாயுள்ள சாமந்தரும் திருக்கைக்கீழ் கூடியிருக்க —Quilon.

The version of the *Kēraḷōlpatti*⁴ is that the brahman oligarchy which originally ruled Kēraḷa found itself incompetent to discharge its administrative duties satisfactorily owing to internal dissensions, that it tried the rule by 'protectors' or *Rakshāpurushas* (for short terms of three years) elected from the four villages of Panniyūr, Paravūr, Peruñjellūr and Cheṇḱanniyūr, in which had been located the four *kaḷakams* or electing assemblies representing the 64 *grāmams* of Kēraḷa, that finding this expedient also unsatisfactory, it got down Viceroys from adjacent countries to rule over them and afford protection, and that as a check on these selected kings, they finally formed four new assemblies at Irinjālakuda, Mūḷikkalam, Paravūr and Ayirānikulam, which were situated near enough to each other, unlike the original four which were so far apart as to impede the expeditious transaction of State business. These four new assemblies had their own meeting places called *taḷis*⁵ (assembly halls) in the capital itself: *viz.*, Mēḷtaḷi (Mūḷikkalam), Kīḷtaḷi (Ayirānikalam), Neḱiyataḷi (Paravūr) and Chingapurattaḷi (Irinjālakudal), which were controlled by their presidents called *taḷiyāḱḱimār*, who were selected celibates from certain influential families. According to the Peruneyil inscription the king

1. *The Trav. State Manual*, Vol I, p. 265.

2. DO. p 266

3. *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII., p. 123.

4. நாந் தன வுபவிக்ஷக அந் கட்டி ஆ நிநு காலுக்ஷக ராஜாவோட்குடி புவுணி ஆ. கோவிடகத்தில் ஸமீபத்து தன ர் கச்சகத்தினு கட்டி ஆ பரிக்க ஹரிப்பாந் ர் ததி-
யு. தி. ந்து. மேல்ததி, கிசுத்ததி, கெகியத்ததி, பிசுபுரத்ததி, ஹத்ததியில் ஹந்
ரக்கிக்ஷகவந் ததியாநிகிமாந்—
Kēraḷōlpatti, p. 14.

5 Compare நா லுதனியும் தனிக்கடுத்த கிராமம்—*Epig. Ind.*, IV-295.

It is not apparent why the royal writ relating to the Peruneyil temple should have been issued from the Neḍiyataḷi Assembly Hall instead of from the Mērraḷi belonging to Mūlikkaḷam (Mūshikakkaḷam), which may be expected to have exercised its jurisdiction over Peruneyil, on account of its greater proximity, as it has done on such temples as Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr, Tirukkākkaṛai and Tirunelli. Neḍiyataḷi and Mērraḷi³ occurring in the records of Tirukkākkaṛai may perhaps have to be taken to refer to these assemblies rather than to any specific villages.

Text.

1	வ்ஷவ்ஷ ஸ்ரீ [1*]	18	ரக்கெணிக் கொல்ல-
2	கொல்லந்தொ-	19	த்து பணைங்காவி-
3	ன்றி யிருநூ-	20	ன் கொயிலகத்தி-
4	ற்றெழுபத்-	21	ருந்ருள ஆரிய-
5	தெட்டாமாண்-	22	ரொடு வந்த விரொத-
6	டைக் கன்னியி-	23	த்தினு ப்ராயச்சித்-
7	ல் வியாழம் புக்-	24	த்தத்தினு புத்தன் அ-
8	க [சிங்ங ஞா] யிறு-	25	றையால் பதினாழி-
9	ஒன்பது சென்-	26	க்கொள்ளும் பறையர்-
10	ற நாள் இரண்டா-	27	ல் நியதம் ஒருப-
11	மாண்டைக் கெதி-	28	றைச் செய்து நெல்
12	ர் பதி [நொரா] மாண்டை-		Second face.
13	[ய் இ] ராமர் ⁵ திருவ-	29	இராமெச்-
14	டி கொயிலதிகா-	30	சுவரத்து
15	ரிகளாயின ஸ்ரீகு-	31
16	லசெகரச் சக்கி-	32
17	ரவர்த்திகள் கு-	33	. . . ஆரி-

1 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. III. p. 598.

2 *Cochin Manual*, p 373.

3 *Trav. Archéol. Series*, Vol. III. p. 172, 167.

4 Registered as No. 54 of the *Trav. Epig. Collns.* for 1095 M. E. (Also No. 53 of 1084).

5. Another reading கொராயர் seems possible. Compare also:

എല്ലാവും നിന്നടകരതും രായിരക്ഷാണിപാലാ

കെൽപ്പാന്നിടം മഹിതചിന്ദാവീരനെക്കണ്ടുപോക. — *Unnunilisanthesam*, v. 116.

but this person was nearly two centuries later.

34 ய ஸ்ரஹிண-
35 ருங் கூடி-
36 யிருந்நட-
37 த் து . . பக்க-
38 ல்
39 யக்கங் கை-
40 யில்த் தி-
41 ருக்கை ந-
42 னைச்சருள
43 நான்கு த-
44 ளியு மா-
45 யி[ரம் ஷ]-
46 து நூற் று-
47 வரும் [இன்]-
48 னாடு வாழ்க்-
49 கையான் ளிக்-
50 கிரமனான
51
52 க்கன் முத-
53 லாயுள்ள
54 சாமந்தரு-
55 ந் திருக்கை-
56 க்குழிக் கூ-
57 டியிருக்க-
58 த் திருக்கை
59 நனைச்ச[ரு]-
60 ளியா ளி.து [1*]
61 அச்செரி-
62 க்கல் காரா-
63 ண்மை செ-
64 த வெனாட்-
65 டு ருமா .
66 னுதையவ-
67 ரம்மன்

Third face.

68 இ
69
70 ஐந்நாழி கொள்ளு-
71 மிடங்கழியால் முப்-
72 பத்தறுகல நெல் வி-
73 ராமெசுரத்து மண்ட-
74 பத்தில் [கூட்டங்]-
75 கூடி யிருந்நதில்
76 இ[வ்வாண்டு] முதல்
77 திரு வைக்கு-
78 ம் திருக்கூத்துங்
79 கூடிச் செ[ல்வது] [1*]

80 கிற்றடிச்சுவரத்-
81 து மெல்லொடித்தி . .
82 . லு செந்நெல் மு-
83 ப்பத்தறு கலம்-
84 லிப்படி
85 பதினெண்க் கல-
86 ம் நெல்லால் செ-
87 லவிடுவிது [1*] வைச்ச
88 நெல் பதினைங்கல-
89 த்தால் தொள்ளாயிர-
90 நாழி பலாக்காட்டு க-
91 ண்ணந் தெவன் செல-
92 விடுவிது [1*] தொள்ளா-
93 யிரநாழி மெல் இவ்-
94 லூர் (லூர்) சத்திரம-
95 ன் செலவிடுவிது [1*]
96 செலவு முட்டிகின்றெ
97 மயாலஞ்ஞா-
98 ழி அரி தண்டபட்டு
99 செலவிடுவிது [1*] காராள-
100 ர் மூவருங் கூடி செரிக்-
101 கல் . . காராளரும் திரு-
102 க்குணவாததெவர் திருந-
103 டையில் கொண்டு அந்நாழி-
104 க்கு ஒக்கு மிட[ங்]*கழி
105 நாநூற்று நாழி நெலாட்-
106 டை காராளரு செரிக்கல் கொ-
107 டுப்பது [1*] யிவண்ண[ம்]*மை-
108 ச்சமைக்கு . . . கு-
109 ணவாயிரனும் யிக்கடை

Fourth face.

110 கடமையா-
111 ல்
112 தின் றும -
113 திச்சு ஒ-
114 க்கு
115 -ன் றுநாழி
116 உரியால்
117
118 யிருநாழி
119 அக்கிரம்
120 பதினாழி
121 இப்பெருமா-
122 ள் நடை சில-
123 விற்கு அவ-
124 ற்றிற்கு நா-
125 முரி கிற்ற-

126	டிச்சுரத்து	139
127	மொலொடிக்-	140
128	கு நாழி	141	மிசாநங்-
129	.. கொடுத்த-	142	கையரடியார்
130	து . க . ன்	143	ஆறிக்கு ..
131	ற மங்ங-	144	ச்சனெழுத்து [1*]
132	லத் திரவி	145	அறைஞர் ஆசா-
133	யிராயரன் ¹	146	ரி கையெழுத்
134	கையெழுத்து [1*]	147	து [1*] திருப்பெ-
135	.. ன ..	148	ஞர் மறைக்-
136	ல	149	க .. கண்டாச்ச-
137	க்களுங்	150	ன் கையெ-
138	யும் ..	151	முத்து ஸ்ரீ [11*]

No. 14—Quilon record of Kollam 513.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north base of the central shrine in the Rāmeśvarasvāmin temple at Quilon. It is in the Tamil language and in the same alphabet of a period somewhat later than Kollam 513 (A. D. 1357-8), in which the record is dated. It states that certain gardens belonging to the temple were redeemed by the temple trustees from the money given by Śāttan Marudappillai of Kayalil and that the trustees agreed to utilise the income from these gardens towards the expenses of providing certain offerings to the god and for lighting a perpetual lamp in the temple on behalf of the donor of the amount.

Text.²

- 1 சிறி கொல்லம் ஞாலிந் நாயினர் திருவிநாயக்கரமுடைய ஞாயினா[ர்*] தெவ-
தானம் பண்டாரத்தார் தகைவாய் கிடந்து விடிவித்துக் கொண்ட வ-
- 2 யிராவணர் தொட்டம்(ம்) அறைக்கல் புரையிடம் வயலிப்புரையிடம் ஆக
மூன்று புரையிடத்துக்கும் எல்லையாவது [1*] கிழெல்லை முனைநகட-
- 3 வத்துக்குப் பொகிற வழிக்கு மெற்கு தென்னெல்லை சிறைக்கு வடக்கு வ-
மெலெல்லை வாஸ்தடையார் குடியிருப்புக்கு கிழக்கு வடவெல்லை
- 4 மருமாண்டிக்கு பொரக³ நாராயப்பெருவழிக்கு தெற்கும் ஆக இந்த நா-
ங்கெல்லைக்குட்பட்ட நிலத்துக்கு காயலில் சாத்தன் மருதப்பிள்ளை
- 5 கொண்டு பண்ட[ர்*]ரத்தார் சாதனவாங்கி பலஇறைகளு மாற்றி இவர்
பக்கல் அச்சு பற்றி குடுத்து இறங்கல் மிக்கையில் இவற்கு ஆக இரு-
நாழி அரி-
- 6 சி அமுது படியும் ஒரு திருவிளக்கும் இடுவொமாகவும் [11*] உருபிடத்தில்
மெல்படை நாலும் காயலில்[ல்*] சாத்தன் நாயனார் [மு]ம்மநால் [11*]

1 See foot note 5 on page 44 above.

2 Registered as No. 54 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

3 Read பொகிற.

Translation.

The auspicious Kollam (year) 513.

The boundaries of the three plots (called) Vayirāvāṇaṇ-tōṭṭam, Arakkal-puraiyidam, and Vayaliṭ-puraiyidam which were redeemed by the temple trustees are the following:—

the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the path leading to Munaiṇṇaḍavam, the southern boundary (is) to the north of the tank, the western boundary (is) to the east of the habitation of the *vāḷṭaḍaiyar*, and the northern boundary (is) to the south of the big lane leading to Marudāṇḍi.

For the lands lying between these four boundaries, the trustees took money from Śāttaṇ Marudapillai of Kāyalil, executed the document, exempted the plots from taxes, redeemed them from *iṇṇaḷ* and agreed to give on his behalf two measures of rice to the temple for offerings and to light a sacred lamp in it.

The four upper courses in the *urupīṭham* are by Śāttaṇ Nayanār Mummaṇ of Kāyalil.

No. 15.—Quilon inscription of Kollam 516.

This record is engraved on the lintel of the stone doorway in front of the Rāmēśvarasvāmin temple at Quilon. It is in Tamil and is dated in Kollam 516, three years later than the one published above. It states that the door-frame and steps of the gateway (in stone) were the gift of Mayilaṇ Tiruvōttajāman-aḷagiyār, the headman of Navatūr in Aṅgaimaṅgalan *alias* Vīrapāṇḍya-maṅgai-mānagaram, in Kuḍai-nāḍu.

Kuḍai-nāḍu is perhaps identical with Kuḍa-nāḍu of literature, which is mentioned as one of the twelve divisions where vulgar Tamil (*koḍuntamiḷ*) was spoken as opposed to the purer variety (*śendamiḷ*) which was current in and around Madura, the seat of the Tamil Academy. The modern equivalent of Kuḍanāḍu is the northern portion of Malabar comprising Coorg etc. The name of the donor is somewhat peculiar and was perhaps coined from the name of god Śiva 'who was beautiful at the time of the midnight worship'. *Kiḷavan* means 'the headman of the village (*urimai-yuḷaiyavan*)', the suffix *kiḷamai* in the week-days also signifying that the particular planets were the lords of those days which went by their respective names.

Text.

- 1 வறவறி பூழி [1^{ம்}] கொல்லம் நிராயிசு மாண்டு சித்திரைமாதம் இடக்கிருவா தில்
திருநதி-
- 2 கைகாலம் படியும் குடைநாட்டு² ஆங்கைமங்கலமான விரபாண்டியான் ம.
[கி]வை

1 கொல்லம் என்பது குடங் கைகால வேண் பூழி சீதம் மலாடு புனாடு செந்தமிழ் சே
பந்திரியருவா வசக வடநாடு—நன்றிய ரேதமில் பன்னிருநாட் டெண்.

2 In a Chodapuram record of Kollam 519, occurs the following:
பூழிபாண்டியான் படியும் குடைநாட்டு ஆங்கைமங்கலமான மதுரோதையப்பெருந்தேரு.

- 3 மானகரத்து நாவலூர் கிழவன் மயிலன் திருவொத்தசாமமழகியார்
4 செய்தத் திருப்பணி உ ஸுஹஸ்து உ

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Chittirai in the Kollam year 516, the door-jambs and steps of this gateway are the charitable work of Mayilaṇ Tiruvōttajāmam-aḷagiyār, the headman of Nāvalūr in Aṅgaimaṅgalam *alias* Vīrapāṇḍiyamaṅgai-māṇagaram, in Kuḍai-nāḍu.

Tiruvelunnannur Records.

The Trivandrum Museum contains a set of copper plates, the thirty-eight leaves of which are beaten thin like olai leaves and are strung together through two holes and are kept between two thicker metal plates, looking quite like an ordinary cadjan manuscript bundle. The records incised on these thin leaves relate to the accounts of the temple of Tiruvelunnannūr and range in date from the year Kollam 600 to Kollam 900. It looks as if they were engraved on copper from older *olai* documents without any arrangement in chronological sequence, the only object that was presumably aimed at being an attempt to ensure greater permanency to the temple transactions. The language and script of the records is Malayalam, as may naturally be expected in regard to documents that were consolidated only a couple of centuries ago during the tenure of office of a certain Kaṇṇan-Kaṇṇan of Maṇṇūr as the *poduvāl* of the temple assembly, the only noteworthy point being the use of declensional endings such as *ān*, *ār* in some cases like *koḍuttān* and *koḍuttār*, unlike modern Malayalam, which completes discards them.

Of the many separate transactions that have thus been brought together and which number more than fifty, only half a dozen are of some slight importance as they mention two royal names, *viz.*, Vīra Kōḍaivarman of the Iḷaiyiḍattu-svarūpam who figures in two of the records, while two other documents mention a Vīrakēraḷa-Rāmaivarman of Kīlappērūr. The Iḷaiyiḍattu-svarūpam was the name of one among those small chieftaincies called Vaḍakkumkūru, Tekkumkūru, Paṇḍalam, Iḷaiyaḍam, Quilon, Ambalapuḷa, Eḍappaḷli etc. which flourished in detached independent units all over Vēṇāḍu until the time of the Travancore king Mārttaṇḍavarman, the Great (Kollam 904-933), who by dint of his successful wars and diplomacy either conquered these principalities or managed to annex them to his dominions and thus consolidated the Travancore State to its present proportions. Before the annexation of their territory to Travancore in Kollam 916, the Iḷaiyaḍam family held sway over the tract represented by the modern taluks of Śheñcōtta, Valliyūr, Koṭṭārakara, Pattanāpuram and Nedumaṅgāḍ;¹ and Vīra-Kōḍaivarman of the Tiruvelunnannūr records must have been a Koṭṭārakara chief who reigned at least from Kollam 711 to 715. The two records attributed to his reign

1 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 340-1.

state that his subordinates (*tiruvaḍikkamaṇḍa-kōyilkanmi*) gave some lands for the conduct of the morning service (*ushahṇijā*) and for the maintenance of an arch of lamps (*tōraṇam*) in the temple of Eṇḍalaiyappaṇ at Tiruvelunnannūr.

The other two records referring themselves to the reign of a king called Vīrakēraḷa-Rāmavarman of Kīlappērūr are dated in the Kollam years 663 and 793 respectively, and it therefore leads to the presumption that as these records are separated by an interval of 130 years, the kings figuring in them, though of the same name, may be two different individuals. But from the fact that the day and month of both these documents is the same (Kumbham 8) and also because one of them containing the date 663 is somewhat peculiarly worded without a specific prefixion of the Kollam era, *viz.*,

‘തിരുവെള്ളുന്നെന്തർ ചട്ടാരകർക്കു നൂതനായ മാണ്ടു കാണ്ടായെറു വ ചെന്ന നാൾ’

it appears probable that the year 663, if it is not a scribe's mistake for 793 of the other record, may refer to the number of years that had elapsed since the Tiruvelunnannūr temple was constructed; and if the temple may be presumed to have come into existence in about Kollam 130, 663 years after its erection would coincide with Kollam 793, the year quoted in the other record, and both the records would then belong to the time of the same Vīrakēraḷa-Rāmavarman. That this practice was not uncommon of dating temple records from the date of construction of those particular temples which inaugurated a local era, may be seen from other instances in the cases of the ¹Tirukkandiyūr, Tirukkākkarai and Tirukkulaśēkharapuram temples. It may however be noted that no other document in this set of copper-plates relating to the Tiruvelunnannūr temple is similarly dated.

Taking then Kollam 793 as the date of the two records, it is found that no Vēṇāḍu king called Vīra-Kēraḷa Rāmavarman is known to have lived at about this time. Vīrakēraḷa Rāmavarman will ordinarily signify king Rāmavarman, the nephew of a predecessor called Vīra-Kēraḷavarman; and so far as we know at present, Vīra-Kēraḷavarman was followed by a king named Rāmavarman in the following instances only:—

- (i) ²Vīra-Kēraḷa Mārttāṇḍavarman of Kollam 610 was succeeded by a Rāma Mārttāṇḍavarman whose record is dated in Kollam 614,
- (ii) ³Venṇumanṅkonḍa Bhūtalavīra Vīra-Kēraḷavarman of Kollam 720 had a contemporary or successor called Venṇumanṅkonḍa Bhūtalavīra Rāmavarman in about Kollam 722.
- (iii) ⁴Uṇṇi Kēraḷavarman (Kollam 893-99) was followed by his brother Rāmavarman (Kollam 899-903)

but none of these periods corresponds with either Kollam 663 or 793 of the two records noted above.

From the fact that the Tiruvelunnannūr set does not mention any Vēṇāḍu kings but only a Vīra-Kōḍaivarman of the Ilayaḍattu-svarūpam, it is not improbable that, if the date in the record is assumed to have been correctly given as

1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 78.

2 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol I, p. 266 and No. I. of 1084.

3 *Ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 104.

4 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 327.

Kollam 793, the Vīra-Kēraḷa Rāmavarman of these records also may have been a local chieftain and not a Vēṇāḍu king, even though his name was connected with the house of Kīlappērūr and has not been specifically mentioned with other distinguishing epithets.

Some of the records included in the bundle give the names of the following varieties of documents:—

1. karpūravila-ōla,
2. tōraṇa-taragu-vila-ōla,
3. dāna-ōla,
4. paḍukala-ōla,
5. naḍamāḍu-paḍukala-ōla,
6. prāśchitta-ōla,
7. orri-ōla,
8. nēorri-ōla,
9. amiśavila-ōla,
10. kaḍavāyppa-ōla or muṇi,

whose names are derivable from the special nature of or purposes for which those transactions were made. The records now published belong to the first two classes.

Karpūra-vila-ola is a document relating to *karpūravila* or price of camphor; but it is not definite if this income represented any seigniorage on the sale or export and import of camphor. It occurs in the nature of a tax in an inscription¹ of Rājaraḷa I at Pañchapāṇḍavamalai: ‘கற்பூரவிலையும் ஒழிஞ்சு சாசனம் செய்தபடி. It is understood from a Kākatiya record² found at Mōṭṭuppalḷi in the Guntur district, that camphor, both country-made and imported from foreign countries (like China), was treated as dutiable commodity and that a tax of 15/16 *panam* was levied on a pagoda's worth of that article in the time of Gaṇapatidēva in the 13th century. In the present case, it appears possible that some provision was made in the shape of lands to meet the expenses of supplying camphor for the daily temple worship and that the lessees of the particular lands set apart for this item of supply bound themselves to measure out the stipulated quantity of paddy as *karpūravila-nellu* for the purchase and supply of the indispensable camphor to the temples. The following extract from a record belonging to the same temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr will make this clear:

‘നെല്ലിപ്പറമ്പിൽ ഇന്നാർപേരിൽനിന്നു നെല്ലിപറമ്പിൽ തേചത്തിന്നു കപ്പൂരവില കല്പിച്ചു ചെമ്പുകെട്ടിയാൽ വരവേണ്ടും കപ്പൂരവില നെല്ലു ൫ ൭ ചൈതാക’ and

‘കണ്ണങ്ങോട്ടു തെചത്തിന്നു വാളെങ്കോട്ടു ഇന്നാർപേരിൽനിന്നു കപ്പൂരവില കല്പിച്ചു ആണ്ടുവരവും ചെമ്പുകെട്ടിയാൽ വരവേണ്ടും കപ്പൂരവില നെല്ലു ൫ ൭ ചൈതാക’

These documents are classified as *Karpūravila* in the margin of the copper leaves.

1, *Epiq. Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 138.

2, *Ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 197, ‘कर्पूरमुनकू चीनकर्पूरानकु मुत्यालकू वेल ग १ कि ९ ॥’

Tōraṇa-taragu-viḷa-ōla— *Tōraṇa* is the '*tōraṇa-viḷakku*' (the arch of lamps) or the '*dīpamālā*' (the garland of lamps) that is put up in front of the entrance to temples and *taragu* is a document or lease; so that the full term signifies a deed assigning some lands on *viḷakku-pāṭṭam* tenure to an individual who was required in exchange therefor to maintain the arch of lamps lighted daily or on festive occasions according to the terms of his agreement. From the way in which the word has been used in another record, *tōraṇa* seems to have connoted also the land intended for this item of service.

തിരുവെള്ളുന്നന്നൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പന്ന തോരണം വച്ചുകൊള്ളുമാറും കല്പിച്ചു തോരണത്തരകും എഴുതി കൊടുത്താൻ ഇതോരണത്തിന്നു എളുക തോരണത്തിനകത്തു ഒള്ള മക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു ആവണിസംക്രാന്തിവിളക്കിന്നും വിഷ്ണുവിളക്കിന്നും തിരിയും കൂട

It may be noted that *Tōraṇattōṭṭam* was the name of a garden in the Kottayam plates of Sthānu-ravi, where the particular garden may have been assigned for such specific service. A contribution called *tōraṇa-kāṇikkai* occurs in Tamil records. In the Vellāṇi inscription of Vīra-Rāma-varman the limits of the land that was endowed to the temple were marked off at their four corners by the erection of *tōraṇas*, which seem to signify not ornamental archways but stone posts or pillars as boundary stones. This practice of demarcating temple property was common also in the Tamil districts, where stone slabs bearing the representations respectively of the trident (*tiruchchūlattāpanam-śeyḍu*) and the discus (*tiruvāḷikkal-nāṭṭi*) were used in respect of Śiva and Viṣṇu temples.

The word *tavayāriyar* has undergone some change from Sanskrit on adaptation to the vernacular. *Tavai* is derived from the Sanskrit word *sabhā* by the usual substitution of *ta* for *sa* in Malayalam, and the equally common change of *bhā* into *pai* or *vai* (cf. Tam. *avai*); while the word *āriyar* is the Sanskrit *ārya* 'a respectable man.' *Tāvayāriyar* may therefore be considered as synonymous with the '*sabhai-perumakkā*' or 'the great men of the assembly' of other records.

The proper names occurring in the records are:—

Tiruveḷunnannūr	is Veḷinallūr in the Kottarakara taluk
Ādiccheṇallūr	is in the Quilon taluk
Karakūḷam	is in the Nedumangad taluk
Muṭṭakkāyal	is probably Muṭṭakkāvu in the Quilon taluk
Kīlappērūr	is in the Chirayinkil taluk
Iḷaṅguḷam	is perhaps the village in the Quilon taluk
Peruṅguḷam	is in the Kottarakara taluk
Umayallūr	is probably Umayanallūr in the Quilon taluk
Kunnummēl	the Kilimanur chief was known as 'Kunnummēl Rājā.'
Kārimarugu	
Kariviḷa	
Karakkāḍu	Karikkōḍu is in the Quilon taluk.
Tōṭṭaman	

No. 16—Record of Vira Kodaivarman of Kollam 711.

Text.¹

- 1 കൊല്ലം ഐയം-മാണ്ടു മേടമാസം ര തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു
എ--
- 2 ണ്ഡലയപ്പെൻ തിരുമുന്മാക തവയാരിയെർ തിരുക്കുട്ടമാക ഇരുന്നരുള കുൽ
പ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ കണക്കു [1*] കാരിമറക ചീവിതത്തിൽ ഇളംകുളംതെവ
ത്തു ചെരുവെരുംക-
- 3 ഉത്തു കുന്ദമ്മൽ ഇളയടത്തു ശ്രീവീരകോതവമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കൊ
യിക്കന്മികെറുക്കു ഒട്ടു നാലതൊട്ടിനകം ഉള്ളിട്ട തടി പലവിനാൽ നിലം
രൂ ൫ ൭ വിത്തുപ്പാടും ഇതിന്നു ഇ-
- 4 രുകരെയും ചരിഞ്ഞ കരപ്പുരടങ്ങളും കരക്കാടും തൊട്ടമണം കരക്കുടിവ
തിയെയും കൂടി തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലയപ്പെന്നു ഉഷവുജവകെക്കു
കൽപ്പിച്ചു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്ത-
- 5 ര എണ്ടലയപ്പെന്റെ തിരുനടയിൽ എഴുതിവച്ചു കൊടുത്താർ ശ്രീവീര
കോതവമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മികെറു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എ
ണ്ടലയപ്പെന്നു ഇമ്മാക്കുമെ [11*]

Translation.

On the 4th day of the month of Mēdam in the Kollam year 711, the *tavaiyāriyar* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruveḷunnennūr in the presence of god Eṇḍalayappan wrote up the following account:

The following lands in Cheruperuṅḡḷam of Ilaṅḡḷam-deśam in Kāri-marugu-jīvitam belonging to the subordinates of śrī Vīra-Kōḍavarman-Tiruvaḍi of Kunnummēl-Iḷaiyaḍam, namely—

the lands comprising many *tadi* (in extent) and having a sowing capacity of 45 *para* of paddy seed inclusive of the arable lands, the compound sites on the slopes, Karakkāḍu, Tōṭṭaman and also the tenants, were provided for the expenses of the early morning *pūja* of the god Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷunnannūr and the subordinates of śrī Vīra-Kōḍavarman gave this in writing in this manner to the god Eṇḍalayappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr.

No. 17—Record of the Kodaivarman of Kollam 715.

Text.²

- 1 ഐയം മാണ്ടു മിതുനമാസം രനു- തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാ
തിൽമാടത്തിനുംകൽ എണ്ടലയപ്പെൻ തിരുമുന്മാക തവയാരിയർ
തിരുക്കുട്ടമാക ഇ-
- 2 രത്തരള കുൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ കണക്കു [1*] ആതിച്ചനെല്ലർ മുതൽനാട്ടിൽ
ക്കരകളും തെവത്തിന്നു കുന്ദമ്മൽ ഇളയടത്തു ശ്രീവീരകോതവമ്മർ
തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മികെറുക്കു

1 Registered as No. 3 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

2 Registered as No. 4 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

- 3 ഒളള കരക്കുളം ഉള്ളിട്ട വയെൽത്തൊട്ടിന്നും കരപ്പുരയെടങ്ങൾക്കും കൂട തിരു
വെളുന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻറെ തൊരണം വച്ചി രക്ഷിക്കമാറു കൽ
പ്പിച്ചു തൊരണത്തരക വി-
- 4 ലെയൊലെയും എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താർ കൊയിക്കന്മികൾ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തൂർ
എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കമെ ഇന്നിലങ്ങൾക്കും പുരയെടങ്ങൾക്കും കൂട
ആണ്ടുവരയും ചെംപുകെട്ടി
- 5 ഇടങ്ങുറിയാൽ തന്ന ചൊരുമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ചു കർപ്പൂരവില നെല്ലു ൭൭ ൪൪
ചൊതാക [H*]

Translation.

On the 4th day of the month of Mithunam in the (Kollam) year 715, the *tuvayūriyār* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruveḷun-nannūr in the presence of the god Eṇḍalayappan, wrote the following account:—

The lands in Karakuḷam-deśam in the Mudel-nāḍu of Ādichchanallūr be-longing to the subordinates of (the chief) Śrī Vīra-Kōḍaivarman-Tiruvaḍi of Kumumēl-Iḷaiyaḍam, namely:

the lands of Karakuḷam inclusive of the fields, gardens and compound sites, were provided for the maintenance of an arch of lamps (*tōraṇam*) to the god Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷunmannūr and a deed (*tōraṇatarajuvilai-yōla*) was drawn up and given by the servants (*kōyilkanmā*) to the god of the temple.

The quantity that was agreed to be measured annually by the *sembukatti-idanigali* (copper-measure of the temple) from those lands was 7 *para* and 5 *idanigali* of good paddy as *karppūra-vīla*.

No. 18.—Record of Vira Kerala-Ramavarman.

Text.¹

- 1 തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തൂർ പട്ടാരകെക്കു ന്നാനുമുട മാണ്ടു കുറുപത്തായറ ച ചെന്ന
നാൾ ആതിച്ചനെല്ലൂർ മുതൽനാട്ടിൽ കരിവിളെ ദേശത്തിന്നു കീഴപ്പെ-
- 2 തൂർ ശ്രീവീര കരളരാവർമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കമെന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മികൾക്കു ഒളള ക
രിവിളെയും മെൽമണ്ണും ഉള്ളിട്ട വയെൽത്തൊമ്മിന്നും കരപ്പുര-
- 3 റ്റൊട്ടിന്നും കരപ്പുരയെടങ്ങൾക്കും കൂടെ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെ
ൻറെ തൊരണം വച്ചു രക്ഷിക്കമാറും കൽപ്പിച്ചിത ഇതിന്നു എളുക കിഴക്കു
- 4 കരക്കുളത്തിന്നും പെടാരതു തൊക്കു കടലാത്തൊരണത്തിന്നു പെടാരതു പടി
ത്തായിര മന്നെൻചിറൈക്കു പെടാരതു വടക്കു കരിവിളെ എണ്ടല-
- 5 യപ്പെൻകാവിന്നും പെടാരതു ഇന്നാൽ എളുകെക്കത്ത അകപ്പെട്ട ഉൽപ
ത്തിക്കു ആണ്ടുവരവും ചെംപുകെട്ടിയ ൭ യാൻ തന്ന ചൊരിമാറു കൽപ്പി-
- 6 ചു കർപ്പൂരവില നെല്ലു ൭൭ ൪൪ ചൊതാക ശ്രീ [H*]

In the 663rd year of the god Bhattāraka of Tiruveḷunnannūr when 8 days of Kumbha had expired, the following lands belonging to the subordinates of king Śrī Vīra-KēraḷaRāma-varman-Tiruvaḍi of Kīlappērur, namely:

Karivile, Mēlman inclusive of fields, arable lands and compound sites were given for the maintenance of a *tōraṇa* (an arch of lamps) to god Eṇḍalayappan in Tiruvelunnannūr.

in the east, up to Karakuḷam,
in the south, up to the lands called the Kadelā-tōraṇa,
in the west, up to Maṇṇenchirai, and
in the north, up to Eṇḍalayappān-kāvu in Karivile.

From the produce from the lands lying between these four boundaries the annual rent which was to be measured by the *sembukattiya-para* (copper *para* of the temple) as *karpṇūravila-nellu* was fixed at 7 *para* and 5 *iḍanyaḷi* of good paddy. Prosperity!

Text. 1

- 1 2 ഓ ഹൻഡന മാണ്ടു കുവന്തായറ ചു ചെന്ന നാൾ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൻമാടത്തിങ്കൽ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ തിരുമുവാകെ തവെയരിയൻ തിരുക്കുട്ടമാക ഇരുന്ന -
- 2 രുളിക്കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ കണക്കു [1*] മുട്ടെക്കായിൽ തെചത്തു മെൽപ്പടി എലായിൽ കീഴുപ്പെരൂർ സ്ത്രീവീരകെരള രാമവെമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കോയിക്കുമികെറക്കു ഒള്ള തടി പലവിനാൽ
- 3 നിലം ജയഭൂമി വിത്തുപാടും കൂട തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ ഉഷ പൂജെക്കു വകെയായിക്കൽപ്പിച്ചു കൊടുത്താർ സ്ത്രീവീരകെരളരാമവെമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കോയിക -
- 4 നീകെറം തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ ഇമ്മാക്കുമെ [1*] ഇന്നിലത്തിന്നു എളുക കീഴുകു മുന്നിക്കുളത്തിന്റെ വരവിന്നു പടിഞ്ഞായെറ തെക്കു ഉമെയെല്ലൂർ തെവെരെടെ ചാനിനി -
- 5 ലത്തിന്നു വടക്കു പടിഞ്ഞായെറ ഇലഞ്ഞിക്കെൽക്കു കീഴുകു വടക്കു ഇടത്തുരുത്തുവരംപിന്നു തെക്കു ഇന്നാലു എളുകെക്കുക്കത്ത അകപ്പെട്ട തടി പലവിനാൽ നിലം ജയഭൂമി - - ഉഷപു -
- 6 ജെക്കു വകെയായിക്കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടാർ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ കോയിക്കുമികളൊം ഇമ്മാക്കുമെ [11*]

1 Registered as No. 6 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

2 A symbol of Kollam has been engraved at the end of the plate previous to this and it has to be prefixed to the year 793 of this record.

Translation.

On the 8th day expired of the Kumbha month of the Kollam year 793, the *tavaiyāriyar* met in a boby in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruveḷunnannūr in presence of god Eṇḍalaiyappan and wrote the following account after deliberation:-

The subordinates of Vīra-Kēraḷa Rāmavarman-Tiruvaḍi of Kīḷappērūr gave lands many *taḍi* (in extent) and having the sowing capacity of 45 *para* of seed in Muṭṭakkāyil-ēlay in the same *dēsam* for the early morning worship of god Eṇḍalaiyappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr.

The boundaries of this land are:—

the east (limit) is to the west of the Mūñnikkuḷam tank,

the south (limit) is to the north of the land belonging to the *sānti* (priest) of the god at Umayallūr,

the west (limit) is to the east of Ilañjikkal, and

the north (limit) is to the south of Iḍatturutti-paraṃbu.

The temple officials of god Eṇḍalaiyappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr had this land lying between these four boundaries and (having a sowing capacity) of 45 *para* entered (in the account), for (the expenses of) the early morning worship of the god.

No. 20.—A record dated in Kollam 878.

The subjoined record dated in Kollam 878 has no special importance attached to it except that it shows how a case of assault on the person of certain temple servants (*pillar*) was adjudged two centuries ago, how some compensation in cash for the outrage was demanded from the assailant a certain Śankaran-Kanḍan of Iḍainana, probably a temple official, and how some landed property was accepted in exchange, the annual rent from which was credited to the temple revenues.

It is noteworthy that the expiation or *prāyaścitta* for untoward happenings generally took the form of some penitent charity to the local temple and that the aggrieved party did not come in for a share of the amount of compensation. Although there may be some justification for appropriating the amount to the temple in this particular instance, where the penalty demanded was for the ill-treatment of some temple servants; in many other cases also, where individuals quite unconnected with temples received injury culminating even in man-slaughter, the accused were let off cheaply with the apparently light punishment of having to burn perpetual lamps in temples. The purely accidental and entirely unintentional nature of the offences was of course taken into account to temper the severity of the criminal law of those times; but it is not understood why the injured parties or their survivors were not granted any portion of the levied penalty, as would have been reasonable and even equitable to expect. Lighting of lamps in temples had perhaps its own moral value for both the parties, but the more practical aspect of utilising a portion of the fines towards making amends to the affected party may have been given some consideration. It is not impossible that this was also attended to in

addition to the purely religious expiation provided for in many of the temple records noticed in the *Madras Epigraphical Reports*, though it did not find specific mention in records relating to the temple gifts. The *State Manual*² quotes an instance from the chronicles of the Padmanābhasvāmin temple wherein Śrī Vīra-Keraḷavarman (Kollam 520) is stated to have made a gift of some lands to the survivors of certain Deśi-brahmans at Nilamēlkkunnu, who had been done to death at his instigation.

The fiscal term *aḍukkuvadu* is explained by Gundert as 'the right retained by the proprietor from the purchaser'. It was 'a fee generally varying from 10 to 20% of the *kāṇam* consideration, which a *kāṇamdār* had to pay to the *jenmi* or landed proprietor for renewing a *kāṇappāttam* lease'. It also represented the small fee¹ of 10 *paṇam* due from the heir on his succession to the *virutti*-holding and which had to be paid to the Sirkar for the grant of the royal *nīṭṭu* or commission.

In this record Saṅkaran-Kaṇḍan of Idamana who had to pay 240 *paṇam* for the *prāyaścittam*-penalty supplemented it by an additional 20%, i. e., 48 *paṇam*, and in exchange therefor set apart two bits of land each of one *para* sowing capacity and promised to measure out annually $7\frac{1}{2}$ *para* of paddy to the temple from the 8 *para* of annual rent derivable from the lands in question. The *aḍukkuvadu* fee was for the renewals of the *pāttam*, which the original proprietor of the lands had now to pay to the present owner (the temple), in his new capacity of a tenant-lessee. The advantage that he secured by the additional percentage of penalty was that he enjoyed the lands without the fear of eviction, so long as he paid the temple its share of paddy (*pāṭṭanel*) on these lands.

Text.³

- 1 "അമ്മയ്യ മാണ്ട ഇടവമാസം ഒ ചെന്ന വിയാഴാഴ്ചയും രൊഹിണിയും പൂ
വ്വപക്ഷത്തു തൃതിയയും ഇന്നാളാൽ തിരുവെളുന്നെ.
- 2 നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൽമാടത്തിങ്ങൽ തവയായിയെർ തിരുക്കുട്ടമാക
ഇരുനൂറ്റ] ഉ കുൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ പ്രാച്ചിത്ത യൊല കുരണമാവിതു[*]
തിരുവെളുന്നെനൂർ പ-
- 3 ടാരകെരെടെ പിള്ളെരെ ഇടമനെ ചംകരൻ കണ്ടെൻ വെലൻ ചൈതതിന്ന
പ്രാച്ചിത്തം ചെയ്യുമാറ കുൽപ്പിച്ചു രാമിപണം പാഴയം അടുക്കുവതു
രാശി.
- 4 പണം പതിനാലു രാശിപണം ചാച്ചയ്യ നും ചംകരൻ കണ്ടെൻ തനിക്ക
പടിഞ്ഞായിറ്റു ചിറവൂർക്കേലിൽ വെളുന്നെനൂർ തെചത്തു കാളവയെ
ലിൽ എലാ-

1 Madras Epigl. Report for 1918, and *Hist. Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 327.

2 Trav. State Manual, Vol. I, p. 264.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 318.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 336.

5 Registered as No. 7 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. R.

6 The word Kollam expressed by a symbol is found engraved on the leaf previous to this and has to be prefixed to the year 878 of this record.

- 5 യിൽ പുന്നിരിട്ടിറേയിൽകല്ലൊള്ള കണ്ടതടി ൧ നാൽ നിലം ൧൭൦ അതിന്നു കിഴക്കു ആട്ടറക്കണ്ടത്തിന്നു കിഴക്കുത വട്ടക്കണ്ടം തടി ൧ നാൽ നിലം ൧൭൦ കൂട നി
- 6 ലം ൨൭൦ പ്രാച്ചിത്തമാക ഏഴുതിവച്ചു തന്ന ആണ്ടൊന്നിന്നു വരവെണ്ടും പാട്ടനെൽ ൮൭൦ ഇ പണം ചാച്ചമച്ച നന്നം ആണ്ടുവരവും തിരുവെളുന്നെ ന്നൂർ പട്ട-
- 7 കാരകെരരെ ചെമ്പുകെട്ടിയാൽ വരവെണ്ടും ഉപയനെൽ ൭൭ ൩൩ ഇ ന്നൽ ൭൭ ൩൩ യും പ്രാച്ചിത്തമാക ഏഴുതികൊടുത്താൻ ചംകരൻ കണ്ടൻ തി-
- 8 തവെളുന്നെ ന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു തവപ്പെട്ടാതുവാൾ 288 കുന്നൻ കുന്നന്നു ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [11]

Translation.

On the 7th day of the month of Idavam of Kollam year 878 corresponding to a Thursday with Rōhinī-nakshatra and tritīyā-tithi of the first fortnight, the *tavayārīyār* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr wrote this *prāchchittayōla* (document relating to expiation).

The compensation which Śaṅkaran-Kaṇḍan of Idamana was directed to render for having assaulted (*balamsey*) the servants of the god at Tiruveḷunnannūr was 240 *rāsi-panam*, which together with 48 *rāsi-panam* for *aḍukkuvadu* amounted to 288 *panam*.

For this amount Śaṅkaran-Kaṇḍan gave the following lands belonging to him, namely,

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *para* (of paddy) in Punnirattiraikkal of Veḷunnannūr-dēśam in Paḍijñāyarru-Chiravūrkkal and one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *para* (of paddy) situated near Aṭṭarakuṇḍam to the east of the above;

in all, land (having the sowing capacity) of 2 *para* (of paddy seed): and from the annual rent of 8 *para* of paddy derivable from these lands he agreed for the amount of 288 *panam* to provide 7 *para* and 5 *iḍaṅgaḷi* of paddy to the temple, as measured by the *Sembukatti* (measure) of the god at Tiruveḷunnannūr to Kunnan-Kunnan of Maṇṇūr,¹ the *tavappoduvaḷ* of the same temple.

No. 21—A record dated in Kollam 878.

Text.²

First side.

- 1 അയ്യ മാണ്ട ഇടവമാസം മിന്ന ചെന്ന ചനിയാഴ്ചയും അത്തവും പൂവ പക്ഷത്തു ഏകാദശിയും അന്ന അസ്തമിച്ചു ധനുരാമി കൊണ്ടു ഇടമെ -

1 Kunnan-Kunnan of Maṇṇūr figures in records dated in years so far apart as Kollam 710 and Kollam 878 and he could not therefore have been contemporaneous with the records themselves. It was during his time as *poduvaḷ* of the temple that many of the temple lease deeds seem to have been rewritten in his name. The word '*immārgama*' at the end of each document shows that all the records were strung together in a collected form at that time.

2 Registered as No. 8 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

- 2 നെ ചൊരിക്കൽ സാക്ഷിക്കറി കൊടുക്കുന്നപ്പൊഴും ചെമ്പിലായിത്തുരുത്തി
ക്കാട്ടു കിരുട്ടൻ നാരായണനും പുനക്കൽത്തുരുത്തിക്കാട്ടു ചുവരൻ
നാരായണനെ-
- 3 നും അയ്യൻറ കണിക്കൽ തുരുത്തിക്കാട്ടു ചുവരൻ നാരായണനും ചി-
റക്കരത്തുരുത്തിക്കാട്ടു നാരായണൻ ചംകരനും മാടപ്പെള്ളിൽ ചം-
കര-
- 4 ന് കിരുട്ടനും കൂട തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു മണ്ഡപത്തിൽ പട്ടമി-
രുന്ന സാക്ഷിക്കറി കൊടുത്തതിന്നു ഇടമനെ ഇന്നാർ ചെമ്പിലായി ഇന്നാ-
ർക്ക കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം ൨൩ രൂപ പുനക്കൽ ഇന്നാർക്ക സാക്ഷിക്കാ-
ണത്തിന്നു കൊടുത്ത രാചി ൪൪ അയ്യൻറ കണിക്കൽ ഇന്നാർക്ക കൊ-
ടുത്ത
- 6 രാശിപണം ൪൪ ചിറക്കര ഇന്നാർക്ക കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം ൪൪ മാട
പ്പെള്ളിൽ ഇന്നാർക്ക കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം ൧൩൨൪ രംവണ്ണ ജന-
ത്തിലെവരു
- 7 സാക്ഷിക്കാണവും പററിക്കൊണ്ടു സാക്ഷിക്കറികെളും കൊടുത്ത ശേഷം ഇട-
മനെ ഇന്നാർ തെവരടെ നടയിൽ വന്ന ദെവൻറ സാക്ഷിക്കാണ-
ത്തിന്നു ൪൪ കണ്ട-
- 8 ത്തിന്നു എഴുതിയ കരണവും നടയിൽ വച്ചു സമുതായത്തിലെവരടെ
സാക്ഷിക്കാണത്തിന്നു പൊതുവാളിടെ കൈയിൽ കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം
൧൨൪ ൦ വാങ്ങിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ദെ-

Second side.

- 9 വെൻറ സാക്ഷിക്കറിയും ദെവൻറ നടയിൽ വച്ചുകൊടുത്തിതു ഇടമനെ
ഇന്നാർ സാക്ഷിക്കറിയും എടുത്തുകൊണ്ടു മണ്ണുപത്തിൽ ചിന്നെയും പട്ട-
മിരുന്ന ശ-
- 10 ക്ക കൊട്ടി കുടിക്കാരിയം ചെയ്യമാറ എന്നു കൽപ്പിക്കുന്നപ്പൊഴും ജനത്തി-
ലെവര സാക്ഷിക്കറി കൊടുക്കുന്നപ്പൊഴും സമുദായം ഉടയ കാവുപുറ-
ത്തു ഇന്നാരോടും
- 11 ചിള്ളെയൊടും പൊതുവാളൊടും ചൊരിച്ച സാക്ഷിക്കറിയും കൊടുത്തു
ശേഷം കൊട്ടിതു മെൽപ്പടി തിയതി ദെവെൻറ സാക്ഷിക്കറിക്കു എഴുതിയ
കണക്കു തിരുവെ-

1 The word *porri* (a class of brahman) comes from *porru* = to praise. It has been used in this ordinary significance in *Achārakalavaḥi*, v. 64—*വിതർക്കിതർ പോർമ്മി അർപ്പിക്കാർ*.

12. മൂന്നേന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു യോഗം തിരഞ്ഞു¹ ഇരുന്ന ഏഴുതീയ സാക്ഷി-
ക്കുറിയാവിതു തിരുവെമൂന്നേന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു പട്ടമിരിപ്പാൻ അവ-
കാശമാകുന്ന സ-
13. ഓക്കിക്കാണവും പറിക്കൊണ്ടു സാക്ഷിക്കുറിയും ഏഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താൻ തിരു-
വെമൂന്നേന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു തവപ്പെട്ടതുവാൻ മണ്ണു കുന്നൻ ക-
ന്നൻ പൊതുവാൻ
14. കരംവണ്ണം കൽപ്പിച്ചു താന അനുഭവ അവകാശം കൊടുത്തു
ഇമ്മാക്കുമെ.

No. 22—A record dated in Kollam 839.

This document dated in Kollam 839 (= A. D. 1684) is of some judicial interest in that it contains information as to how the *samudāyam* or the temple assembly of Tiruvelunnamūr disposed of a case where an individual of the fisherman caste (*mukkūran*) was guilty of theft from a Muhammadan's house and how the case was adjudged by the assembly and the offender brought to book by the confiscation of some of his property to the temple.

The accused was to have been arrested for the imposition perhaps of some monetary or other fines; but as he tried to evade the law by going in hiding, his property situated within the *ḍēṣam* was confiscated, his documents were secured, and the pepper and other household chattel were properly appraised and the value recovered from him. The *ḍai* records relating to his transactions outside the *ḍēṣam* were also kept in the custody of the temple.

It is interesting to note that the Muhammadan is called Kuñju-Pāva-ti(?). Kuñju being a pettish surname common in Malabar.

Text.²

- 1 തിരുവെമൂന്നേന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു കഞ്ചുപാവതിയെന്ന തുലക്കനെകത്തു
പക കട്ട മുക്കവനെ തമുതായത്തിൽ നിന്നു തടുത്താ-
- 2 റെ അവെൻ ഒളിച്ചുപായ ചെപ്പം അവന്റെ വസ്തുവക്കൊണ്ടു ചൊന്നാ
റെ അവനെപ്പിടിച്ചു തമുതായത്തിലേക്കു കൊടുത്തതിന്റെ ചെപ്പം അ
വന്റെ
- 3 വസ്തുവ ആയിട്ടൊള്ളതിൽ ഭേദത്തിന്നു അകത്തു ഒള്ള വസ്തുവും കടവായിപ്പു
മുറികെളും ഭേദവനു കൊടുത്തശേഷം അവന്റെ വീട്ടിയിന്നു കൊണ്ടു
ചൊയ മുളകി-

1 The same expression has been used in the *Keralolippatti* and means that the Yōgam members met in full numbers in the Tiruvelunnamūr temple.

2 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

- 4 നാം പാതീത്രത്തിന്നും മറ്റും പലവകയായിട്ടു കള്ളതു എപ്പർപ്പെട്ടതിന്നും കൂടപ്പൊത്തു തീർന്നു അതിന്റെ അർത്ഥവും പററിക്കൊണ്ടു ദേശത്തിന്നു പുറത്തുള്ള കടവായിപ്പു ഓചെ-
 5 കളും വൈപ്പിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു നീട്ടം കൊടുത്തിതു എന്നു മൻ മാണ്ടു കന്നിത്തറ യെറു മൂന്നാം കൽപ്പിച്ചുമെക്കു വെളുന്നന്നൂർ സമുതായത്തിലെവ ക്കും ജനത്തിലെവക്കും കൂടി നീ-
 6 ദെട്ടതി വിടുകെന്നു തിരുവിള്ളമായ നീട്ടു[11*]

Translation.

The assembly (*samudāyam*) of the temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr apprehended a fisherman, who had committed theft, entering the house of a Muhammadan called Kuñju-Pavadi; but when he concealed himself, his belongings were distrained (by the assembly). When later, he was caught and handed over to the assembly, such of his property as were within the *dēśam* and other documents relating to loans (*kaḍavūppumuri*) were confiscated to the god (*dēvan*). The pepper and other household chattel which had been taken away were appraised and their value was recovered and the documents relating to his transactions outside (the jurisdiction) of the *dēśam* were also kept as deposit.

The above order was issued on the 26th day of the Kanni month of the (Kollam) year 839, and it was also ordered that a copy of this was to be communicated to all the members of the *samudāyam* and *mahājanam* of Veḷunnannūr.

No. 23—A record of Kollam 240 ?

The subjoined record belonging to the same set is dated in Kollam 240 and the other astronomical details of the date are Mīna 12, Wednesday, Makayiram-nakshatra, and pañchami-tithi; but the language and the subject matter of the deed do not justify such an early date for it.

It registers the grant of some lands by two individuals named Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan of Chiravūrkkal for the maintenance of a *tōraṇa* in the temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr. The script in which the record is engraved is Malayalam, while the language which is also characterised by its Malayalam endings is of the prolix documentary style, consisting of:

- (i) a preamble, as to when, how and where the transaction was made,
- (ii) the stipulation made by the donors that their gift should be utilised for the *tōraṇa*,
- (iii) the counter-agreement given by the temple that the gift will be properly set apart for its specific purpose,
- (iv) details of the boundaries of the land in question,
- (v) certain regulations in regard to the land.

(vi) the number of and occasions during which the lights were to be maintained in the temple, and

(vii) the signatures of the individuals witnessing the deed.

The following terms are used in the record:

Tōraṇattarayu-vilayōla—this refers to a document relating to a provision of land, from the rent of which a *tōraṇa* of lights had to be maintained in a temple; *tōraṇa* has also been used to refer to the land intended for the specific service.

*Elakole*¹—The meaning of *elā* is 'fine, penalty, exacted presents' and that of *kolā* is 'forced contribution or fine'. *Elayum-kolayum* is the expression generally used and it has been curtailed into '*elakolayum*'.

Śuraṅgam is a mistake for *śuṅgam*, 'tolls or customs duties'.

Taragu which here means 'a royal writ or a document' connotes also 'brokerage or commission'.

Text.²

First side.

- 1 ചന്ദ്ര[ശ]മ മാണ്ട മീനത്തായര മല ചെന്ന പുതെന്നാഴ്ത്തയും മകെയിരവും പഞ്ചമിയും ഇന്നാളാൽ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൽമാടത്തിൻകൽ തിരുവെളൈ-
- 2 (വളൈ)³ന്നന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പൻ തിരുമുവാക കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ തൊരണത്തരക വില്പെയൊലക്കരണമാവിതു [1*] പടിഞ്ഞായിററുഞ്ചിറവൂർ കൈലിൽ വെളുന്നെന്തർ തെചത്തിനു തി-
- 3 രവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പെന്ന തൊരണം വച്ചു കൊള്ളമാറും കൽപ്പിച്ചു തൊരണത്തരകം എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താൻ ചിറവൂർക്കൈലിൽ കണ്ടെൻ കണ്ടെന്നും മണിയെ-
- 4 ന് കണ്ടെന്നും കൂട തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പെന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കമെ പടിഞ്ഞായിററുഞ്ചിറവൂർക്കൈലിൽ വെളുന്നെന്തർ ദേശത്തിനു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടി-
- 5 ലെയപ്പെന്ന തൊരണം വച്ചുകൊള്ളമാറും തൊരകം എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിതു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പെൻ കണ്ടെൻ കണ്ടെന്നൊടും മണിയെൻ കണ്ടെന്നൊ-

1 Compare the following list of special privileges granted to kings in the *Kēraṭṭalpatti*:

വാലും, തോലും, കണയും, കരിമ്പടവും, അങ്കവും, ചുങ്കവും, ഏഴയും, കൊഴയും, ആനയും, വാളും, വീരശൃംഖല, വർമ്മ, പാലും, നിയമവെടി, നെററിപട്ടം, പടവിട്ട, പരക്കംകൂത്തു, മുനിൽത്തളി, and ചിരവർളി.

2 Registered as No. 10 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. R.

3 Cancel the syllables വളൈ which have been repeated.

- Second side.*

- ### Translation.

—*Pātracharitam.*

- 3 Probably ചുങ്കവും.

Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan of Chiravūrkkal together gave in writing the *tōraṇa-taraṇu* for the maintenance of an arch of lamps (*tōraṇa*) to the god Eṇḍalayappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr-dēsam, (a sub-division) of the western Chiravūrkkal.

In the same manner, god Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷunnannūr also had the document drawn up with Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan for the maintenance of the *tōraṇa* to Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷunnannūr in Tiruveḷunnannūr-dēsam, (which was itself) in Paḍiññāṭṭu-Chiravūrkkal.

The boundaries of this (land for) *tōraṇa* are:

in the east, up to Vellakkara in Arayil,
in the south, up to the crossing of roads,
in the west, up to the garden in Kaṇḍāyikkōḍu, and
in the north, up to Poraykkōḍu.

The fines, tolls and commissions on the lands lying within these boundaries which the tenants were required to pay to god Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷunnannūr in a year was $6\frac{1}{2}$ *iḍaṇḡaḷi* of rice (*kuḍiṇṇari*), which doubled will be 1 *para* $2\frac{1}{2}$ *iḍaṇḡaḷi* of paddy: and with this $2\frac{1}{2}$ *nāḷi* of good ghee and 250 wicks for the Āvaṇi-saṅkrānti and Vishu lamps were ordered to be obtained every year from the tenants cultivating the land.

The witnesses who know this are certain persons in Mañjippuḷa, Gōvindan-Vikkiraman of Pereyil; and with the knowledge of these men, this is the signature of Rāman-Ayyappan of Kurrikkāḍu, who wrote this *tōraṇa*-deed. This is also the attestation of Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan, who had the above-mentioned document drawn up.

No. 24.—Kilimanur record of Kollam 343.

The subjoined inscription is written in Tamil on a set of six cadjan leaves discovered in the Vernacular Records Office within the Fort at Trivandrum and from the remarks made at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the next leaf, it is understood that the whole is a 'true copy' of a record engraved on a set of copper-plates whose whereabouts are not, however, now traceable. The 5th plate appears to have been missing from the set even at the time of the preparation of the cadjan copy and the inscription is also incomplete as it stops abruptly with the seventh leaf, second side, one or more sheets being missing at the end to complete the document. From the manner in which the cadjan copy has been written up at the rate of five lines on each page beginning from the inner side of the first leaf, it looks as if its scribe had been careful to copy down line for line and leaf for plate of the copper original. In the same Records Office were also found cadjan copies of several other copper-plate documents, whose originals had already been procured by this department for publication; *viz.*, Śrīvallabhangōḍai and Māmbaḷli records edited on pages 9, 13 and 76 of Volume IV of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*. From these facts, it can be affirmed that the present cadjan copy is a trustworthy document, so far as its subject matter goes.

The original record must have been engraved in Vatteluttu characters of the same type as those employed in the Mamballi plates of Vīra-Kēraḷavarman; but the copyist who prepared the cadjan *pagarppu* has been responsible for the large number of misreadings which are found to bristle all over the copy, mostly on account of his ignorance of the language used in the documents and also because of the inevitable confusion confronting the transcriber of Vatteluttu in the proper differentiation between several letters of its alphabet, which bear a close family likeness in their curvature and configuration. Notable among these errors of transcription are the following:

(i) *na* has generally been confused with *te* to whose form it approximates, and this has given rise to the incorrect readings: தெவடெகொடனும் for தெவங் கொவனும் (l. 5), காடுடெ கரையும் for காடுங் கரையும் (l. 7), குளமுடெ for குளமுங் (l. 18) etc; and in one instance it has been misread as *tu*, where பணியெழுதும் has been read in place of the correct பணியெழுங் (l. 25):

(ii) *na* has been read as *pa* or *va* and *vice versa* by the plausible excuse of ignoring the final upward stroke of the latter letters; for example நடுடெ (l. 53) ought to be read as படுங் (this word occurs in lines 7 and 18 of Mamballi plates of Kēraḷavarman); நடகாரம் (l. 11) ought to be படகாரம், while திருவாள்வாள்ப் பின்றெவாள் (l. 13) must evidently be திருநாள்(நாள்)ப் பின்றெநாள்:

(iii) the excusable but mistaken identification of the letters *pa* and *va* has commonly been indulged in, owing perhaps to the slovenly incision of the letters in the original itself:

(iv) the name of the king வீரஉதயமார்த்தாண்ட has been incorrectly read as வீரதெவமார்த்தாண்ட, because the vowel *u* was mistaken for the initial *e* curve for the second letter *ta* and the third letter *ya* was correspondingly read as *va* to suit the first letter so as to produce the sensible word *dēva*; but in line 56 this solution was not possible because of the clearer formation of the first letter and the misreading has therefore produced the word வீரவதேவ:

(v) the vowel *u* has been confused for *a* in the word *uri* (ll. 22, 23 and 26) probably because the initial redundant curvature of *a* was indistinct in the original, or the copyist read it as such from the analogous readings of *ari* occurring correctly elsewhere in the same lines; but from arithmetical calculation, it has been possible to ascertain that in all the corrected instances the word ought to be *uri* = half a *nūḷi*:

(vi) The copyist's ignorance of the language of inscription is exhibited in his readings of வயச்சன் for உவச்சன் and பாதின்ற for ஊதின்ற (l. 10), அருள்வழி for ஆள்வழி (l. 13) and in many other instances, where he appears to have been solely guided by the shape, probably obliterated, of the letters without a side-glance at the sense of the words with reference to their context. A similar mistake occurs in l. 21 where நெல் கதாஅழை (1080 *para* of paddy) has been rendered into நெல் கண்ட அயறயும்.

These and similar errors have been corrected in the footnotes, and the slight difficulty which had been experienced in guessing at the right readings for incorrectly-read proper names of persons and places has also been overcome, wherever possible.

The language of the record bears a close resemblance to that employed in the Māmballī record of king Vīra-Kēraḷavarman published on pages 76-80 of Volume IV *ante*; and as the orthographic peculiarities have already been discussed therein, it is not necessary to go over the same ground again in regard to this document also. A few of the expressions occurring in the record may be noticed.

*Ilaiṅṅūru*¹ has been taken to refer to the smaller tract of country administered by a prince and *ilaiṅṅūru-vāḷunnarukūya* can therefore be taken as an epithet signifying 'who was the heir-apparent or *Yuvarāja* and was in actual administrative charge of a minor portion of the dominions'; *Ilaiṅṅōkkūru* occurs in (l. 99) of the Tiruvalla plates and *Mudūkkūru* in the Tirunelli plates.²

Rakshābhōgam (verb: *rakshichu*) has been explained already,³ as 'the owner's share of the produce' and as 'the share or fee given for protection and other facilities to the renter or owner of land as revenue or rent'. The *Kēraḷōl-patti* says that when the administrative control of the *Kēraḷa* country was handed over to the viceroys selected by the brahman oligarchy for short terms of service, one-sixth of the produce of the lands was set apart as the remuneration payable to the *Rakshāpūras* or protectors for the maintenance of peace and order in the country and that this fee was called *rakshābhōgam* (*rājabhōgam*) or 'the amount to be enjoyed for the service of protection'. *Rakshābhōgam* was also the name of freeholds, which were granted by kings or chiefs to persons who had rendered them special service in times of peril. This term latterly came to have the wider significance noted above.

*Pulari*⁴ is a classical Tamil word which has been adopted in Malayalam and it denotes the early part of the day about the time of morning twilight and is consequently the terminal portion of *vaikarai*. According to *Tolkāppiyam* the day of sixty *nāḷigai* was divided into six portions (*śirupoḷudū*) of ten *nāḷigai* each, beginning from sunset *viz.*, *mālai*, *yāmam*, *vaikarai*, *kālai*, *naiyakal* and *erpāḍu*. *Erpāḍu* (*el*=sun + *pāḍu*=setting) is identical in meaning with the expression *paḍiṅṅūru* (*jñāṅṅūru*=sun + *pāḍu*=setting) now in use in Malabar, but the latter refers to the cardinal direction, and not to the time, of the setting sun. It is customary in well-endowed temples in which worship is conducted six times (*ārukālapūjai*) daily, to begin the first *pūja* (*ushahpūjā*) early in the morning. Provision for such an item of worship at *pulari* has been made in the Vellalūr inscription also.

Uchchi is midnight when the sun is at its zenith; and *uchchi* which refers only to the position of the sun in the heavens has come to signify also the time of day, when that position is occupied by that luminary.

Attāḷam-tiruvamudu is the supper-offering to god. *Attāḷam* is compounded of *al*=darkness and *tāḷam*=descent, and is made to signify supper, the meal taken

1 *Trav. Archl. Series* Vol. IV, p. 27. Dr. Gundert gives the meaning of *ilaiṅṅūru-vāḷchcha* as 'the dignity of the second prince'.

2 *cf.* புதைபொருள் முதுகறு வாழ்மவர், *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX., 290.

3 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 8.

4 புலரியே கானில் கன்றின்பின் என் இளஞ்சிங்கத்தைப் போக்கினேன் — *Periyāḷvār-Tirumōḷi*, and தாழ்வையே புலரிவருநிலைமறை அருளுவோர் — *Uṇṇunīli-sandēgam*.

at night time, as against *muttāḷam*, which though not similarly derivable means breakfast. *Attāḷapūjā* is god's worship conducted in temples at night after the evening ceremony of *dīpārādhana* and before *ardhajāma-pūjā*, which is also generally hurried through before 10 P. M. *Attāḷam* and *Muttāḷam* are the two meals which constitute the daily dietary of an ordinary Malayalee.

Mādāmbi is another term peculiar to Kēraḷa. It is composed of two words *māda* + *nambi* and connotes 'lord of a manor, *mādam* meaning 'a storeyed building' and *nambi* signifying 'a superior person, or the son of a brahman by a mother of the military race'. *Mādambimār*³ were the feudal barons of Travancore in the early days, who exercised limited authority and maintained small units of armed retainers. They had to pay certain fixed contributions to the central authority in the forms of *āṇḍukālcha*, *keṭṭutenṅu*, *rakshābhōgam* etc. *Mādattinkīlī* is the name of one of the five Kshatriya families of Kēraḷa and *Mātabhūpati* is the title of the Cochin king. The mischief done by the petty chiefs called *Mādambimār* to the ruling dynasty at Travancore in the 17th and 18th centuries is well-known.

Tirumēṇikāvalkku-nilkum-piḷḷer (l. 24) is more correctly *tirumēṇikāvalkku-nirḷum-piḷḷaiyaḷ*. *Tirumēṇikāval* is the office of the temple watchman whose duty is to mount guard in the temple premises at nights and who is therefore responsible for the safety of the temple utensils etc. and of the god's images (*tirumēṇi*): on account of this duty, the watchman is also designated by that expression. *Piḷḷar* is the plural form of *Piḷḷai*, whereas in Tamil it will be *piḷḷaikal* or *piḷḷimār*. It was originally a title of distinction granted by the king on his henchmen as a mark of royal favour, but it is now the most common appellation of a Nayar in Travancore.

Kāḷam (l. 10) is the *tadbhava* form of the Sanskrit word *kāhala* which means a trumpet (*tiruchchiṇṇam*) and blowing on it is a necessary item of service in temples cf., वीणाभेरिसृङ्गकाहलकलागीतत्र नृत्तं तथा'. This horn is generally sounded before the processions of gods, kings and gurus as a mark of honour, like a herald's trumpet. It occurs as *kākāḷam* in line 353 of the Tiruvalla plates, and that form is nearer to the Sanskrit original.

Vēṇāṭṭu-niḷal-manichchāmāy-varinṇra-āḷvaḷi-koḍuttu (l. 13) needs explanation. *Manichcham* is in the first place a *tadbhava* of *manushyam*, and is often used to express 'a servant or a subordinate' especially of a king. *Niḷal* which means 'shadow' is here the protecting shadow of a royal parasol and therefore of the king; (cf., കടക്കിഴ് വെലയാക്കി=appointed by the king). *Vēṇāṭṭu-niḷal-manichcham*⁴ thus refers to a subordinate officer of the Vēṇāḍu ruler; and the meaning of the whole expression is 'handing over to the individual who comes in the capacity of an official of the Vēṇāḍu king'.

1 Trac. Archl. Series, Vol. IV, p. 71.

2 *Attāḷam* and *Muttāḷam* occur elsewhere in the sense of 'evening and morning offerings'.

3 മടക്കിനാമയിടെയന്നതാം ധന്യമാക്കം നിവാസം.—*Uṇṇuṇṇiṇṇisandēsam*.

4 ശിഷ്യനും പണ്ഡിതനും and ശിഷ്യവേഷധാരി occur in the Tirumelli plates of Bhāskara-Ravi—*Ind. Ant.*, XX—290.

The reading *oppu-kalippu munrōrāṇḍil* in line 26, as given in the olaī, is not free from doubt. What is intended to be conveyed seems, however, to be the following: In all Malabar temples the worshipping priests and their immediate subordinates are generally left in charge only for a fixed term of from three to six years at a time, while another batch from some other temple will thereafter take their place, thus maintaining a regular rotation in the personnel of a particular temple. This temple may have also been similarly constituted, the temple servants being liable to a shift once in three years. The following instance may be compared:—

‘சாந்திசெய்யுமவர்களை மூவாண்டில் மிக வைக்கப்பெறுர்’ — Tirukkāḍittānam record.²

Line 31 furnishes a curiously misread expression ‘*pariparivādar-varu-araṭala*’ and its interpretation is therefore only tentative. The full sentence reads thus:

‘பட்டாசகர்க்கொள்ள தொம்மின்னும் ஸ்ரீகோவில்க்கும் மொருத்தம் (?) வரு ம்போழ்ச்சுவிலெ கூடி நின்னு பரிபரிசாதர் வரு இறதல்’—

Pariparivādar may be a mistaken transcription for *pariyariyādu*, which in correct Tamil will be *parikarikkādu* derived from the Sanskrit word *parihāra* (remedy), while the last word which has been read as *araṭala* may be *arudu*, which is the Malayalam form of the Tamil word *aridu* or *ariyadu* and signifies ‘what ought not to be’. The sentence may therefore mean that ‘if any hindrance or damage were to occur to the temple holdings or to the temple itself, the *irāḷṇakkārār* should at once assemble and should not remain without setting right the trouble’. The expression *ariyarudāde* occurring in line 4 of the Kollur plates may be compared. *Moṟōttam* is unintelligible.

The point which calls for special note in the present document is the mention of several royal personages of Vēṇāḍu, viz.,

No.	Name.	Text-line
1.	Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman-Tiruvāḍi	2, 34, 56.
2.	Vīra Adichchavarman-Tiruvāḍi	3.
3.	Maṇikanṭhan-Mādhaviyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Kīlappērūr	14.
4.	Maṇikanṭhan-Umaiyanmayāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi	16.
5.	Kōdai-Āvaṇiyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Kīlappērūr	18.
6.	Dēvadarāṇ-Āvaṇiyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Tiruppāppūr	19.
7.	Kēraḷaṇ-Ādichchavarman of Mullakkal (Kollam 304.)	58, 62.

From their wording, the documents, appear to be a cumulative catalogue of the different endowments made to the temple of Tiruppārkkāḍal-Bhaṭṭāraka

1. *Tam. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 65.
2. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 40.
3. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 173 et. seq.

at Kilimānūr by successive kings of the Travancore dynasty and engraved on copper at some later date, which must be anterior at least to the last quarter of the 4th century of the Kollam era, the period of rule of Vīra Rāmaṇ-Kēraḷavarman. That the Māmbaḷli plates published on pages 76 to 80 of Volume IV of the Archaeological Series may also be of such a character seems possible, and although Vīra-Kēraḷavarman's name alone occurs in that document, that set may have contained, in its entirety, the particulars of other endowments made to the Vīrakēraḷapuram temple by earlier and later donors, royal or private. Similar instances are not wanting when the previous benefactions to temples were recorded collectively in the same copper-plate set to facilitate easier reference and also perhaps to ensure greater permanence. The Tiruvalla plates¹ and the Kollūr-maḍam plates² are such examples, while the Ārrūr plate³ of Kollam 821 is another later instance, wherein the reason, *viz.*, a fire accident, that necessitated such a consolidation of the earlier documents has also been referred to at the end.

At the beginning of this inscription, it is stated that Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi was the *yuvarāja* or crown-prince (*ilaṅgūru-vāḷunnaruliya*) at the time of that record, *i. e.*, in Kollam 343 (Mēsha 13, Thursday, Uttirani, trayōḍaśi-tithi). This was a year in which Jupiter stood in Makara and as the same Mārttāṇḍavarman was still the administrative head of the *ilaṅgūru* according to the Tiruvāṭṭāru inscription, the date of the latter which was on other grounds fixed to be Kollam 348 in which Jupiter stood in Karkāṭaka, receives further confirmation from this record also. This prince was a reigning king at the time of the Kollūr-maḍam plates (Kollam 364) and the Tiruvāyambādi bilingual record whose date was fixed as Kollam 371⁴, because it was a year in which Jupiter was in the Karkāṭaka-rāśi and a signatory of this record was found to figure in a record of Vīra-Rāmaṇavarman of Kollam 371. But if the last word of the Sanskrit portion of the inscription is taken to represent a chronogram and worked out, the result obtained is a Kali date which corresponded to Kollam 359, which was also a year in which Jupiter occupied the same rāśi¹. Thus this king Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman may be considered to have reigned from at least Kollam 359 to 364 and a few years more, the limit on that side being Kollam 371, when his successor Vīra-Rāmaṇavarman had already ascended the throne.

Of the kings mentioned above, No. 2 Vīra Ādichchavarman-Tiruvaḍi appears to have been a predecessor of Udayamārttāṇḍavarman from the way in which he is referred to in the record and from the fact that the gifts of lands endowed by the former were regulated by the latter during the period of his heirapparentship. As he has also been mentioned expressly as ruling over Veṇāḍu (*veṇāḍu-vāḷunnaruliya*), it is possible that he was the reigning king when Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman was the *yuvarāja* in charge of the *ilaṅgūru* dominions. His

1. *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 46 *et. seq.*

2. *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 154, 8.

3. *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 27.

4. *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 48. Mr. T. K. Joseph, thinks with Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai (*Ind. Art.*, XXVI, p. 109) that *māṇyātmākṣamāyāh* works out to Kollam 359.

name is new to history and no details are therefore available as to when he ruled and for many years. From the Puravaseri¹ inscription it is learnt that Vīra Raviarman ruled over Vēṇādu till atleast Kollam 337 and even after allowing him some years more and for a Vīrakēraḷa² (339-42), there is still an interval of over 15 years to Vīra-Udayanārttāṇḍavarman, who is known to have been in charge of the *iḷaṅgūru* in the Kollam years 341, 343 and 348 and was the actual reigning king only from Kollam 359 or 364. It is just possible that the Ādityavarman of this record may have to be located in this period.

The last name occurring at the end of the available portion of the set is Kēraḷaṅ-Ādichchavarman of Mullakkal, whose gift of lands yielding 100 *para* of paddy is stated to have been made on the 1st day of Mēḍam of the Kollam year 304 (expressed in words). In the double name (*irattaippēr*) of Kēraḷaṅ-Ādityavarman, Kēraḷaṅ represents, according to the custom of Malabar, the name of the uncle and Ādityavarman that of the individual himself. From the Chōlapuram inscription³ we know that Vīra-Kēraḷavarman was the Vēṇādu king in Kollam 302 and it is just possible that the Ādityavarman of the present record may have been his nephew. In the absence however of any distinguishing epithets such as *Śrī*, *Vīra*, *Pillaiyār* or *Tiruvaḍi*, it is not safe to raise the individual to that dignity, the *varman*-title of his name connoting only his *kshatriya* pedigree and nothing more. He may even have been a private individual, an aristocrat perhaps, hailing from Mullakkal. According to the 'Suchindrun' inscriptions Kōḍai-Kēraḷavarman was on the Vēṇādu throne between the years 320 and 325 after the king Vīra Kēraḷa, mentioned above.

Nos. 3 and 4 have to be taken as princes, the sons respectively of the queens Mādhuvi and Umaiyyammai, both of whom were in all probability sisters of Vīra-Rāṇavarman of Kīlappērūr, who was the king of Travancore from about Kollam 371 (A. D. 1195). It is noteworthy that the same suffix *āya* (*āṇa*) is used here in *Umaiyyammaṇāya* and *Mādhuviyāya* as a wrong substitute for *yin* to denote, as suggested on page 69 of Volume IV, the parentage of the princes mentioned thereafter. These names remind one of the names of Gōtanīputra and Vāsishṭīputra of the northern kings. Maṇikaṇṭhaṅ-Umaiyanmayāya Pillaiyār-tiruvaḍi may refer to Rāmaṅ-Kēraḷavarman who was the successor of Maṇikaṇṭhaṅ-Rāṇavarman, but it is more probable that his brother who figures in the Kaḍinaṅ-guḷam⁵ epigraph as the consecrator of the image of the god in that Śiva temple is evidently meant, because Dēvadarāṅ-Kēraḷavarman is separately mentioned. The other nephew of Maṇikaṇṭhaṅ-Rāṇavarman, namely, Maṇikaṇṭhaṅ-Mādhuviyāya Pillaiyār-tiruvaḍi, the son of Rāṇi-Mādhuvi, is a prince whose name is disclosed for the first time in this record; but his distinctive name is not mentioned.

The next pair of royal personages mentioned is Kōḍai-Āvaṇiāya Pillaiyār-tiruvaḍi of Kīlappērūr and Dēvadarāṅ-Āvaṇiyāya Pillaiyār-tiruvaḍi of Tiruppāpūr. In the Māmbaḷli plates of Dēvadarāṅ-Kēraḷavarman, the name of that

1 *Ind. Ant.* XXIV, p. 258.

2 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 253.

3 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 17.

4 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 20-21.

5 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 69-70.

king is stated in full as Kīlappērūr Vīra Dēvadarāṇ-Āvaṇiyāṇa Pillaiyār-tiruvaḍi¹, where the title *Āvaṇiyāṇa* has been considered to refer probably to Śravana, the star of nativity of the king and Kīlappērūr to the *illam* with which he was connected, whereas the present record connects his name with the Tiruppāppūr family also. If Kōdai-Āvaṇiyāṇa Pillaiyār-tiruvaḍi of Kīlappērūr is possibly identical with Dēvadarāṇ-Āvaṇi, it may furnish the detail that Kēraḷavarman had also the title of Kōdai, which is often used as a dynastic name of the Kēraḷa kings. It may not be correct to consider him as different from Dēvadarāṇ-Āvaṇi, as the common natal star 'Āvaṇi'² of both these princes points to their identity, unless it be that Kōdai and Dēvadarāṇ were twins, or if different, they had a horoscopic coincidence in their star of nativity.

It is unfortunate that this record happens to be incomplete and if the missing leaves of this as well as of the incomplete Māmbaḷḷi record of Dēvadarāṇ-Kēraḷavarman could be procured, they will be valuable for setting aright some of the doubtful points in the history of the 4th century of the Kollam era.

The record under consideration is divisible into a few sections, each section specifying the provisions for a distinct item of service or recording the gifts made therefor by a separate donor.

First section.

The first record opens with the date—the 12th solar day of the month of Mēsha of Kollam 343, when Jupiter stood in Makara, corresponding to a Thursday, Uttiram, trayōdaśī, when Śrī Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman-tiruvaḍi was administering (as heir-apparent) the *ilaṅgūri* dominions of Vēṇāḍu, and states that he fixed the scale of expenditure in the temple of Tiruppārkkāḍal-Bhaṭṭāraka in respect of the conduct of the daily *bali*-ceremony and other expenses connected with god's worship and the yearly festivals of the temple.

The village of Kīlīmāṇūr with the forests, arable lands and compound sites included in it, was granted by Śrī Vīra-Aḍichchavarman Tiruvaḍi who was the ruler of Vēṇāḍu, for the expenses connected with the feeding of brahmins or with the annual temple festivities (*brahmasvam* or *brahmōtsavam*) and ten individuals were elected for the management of the temple affairs from among those who were already attached to other important temples. They were:

1. [Anantaṇ]-Kuṇṇaṇ of Puḍuvāḷkkasthānam from Paravūr,
2. Śuvākaraṇ-Dāmōdaraṇ of Kūṇṇambāḷḷi from Mūlikkaḷam,
3. [Śendaṇ]-Dēvaṇ of Vāvukāḍu from Ayirāṇikkaḷam,
4. Dēva-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Vāraṇakōṭṭam from Iruṇṇāḷlikkuḍal,
5. Dēvaṇ-Kōvaṇ of Kuḷaṇṇāḍu from Peruvaṇam,
6. Nārāyaṇaṇ-Śrīkumāraṇ of Piṇaṇṇāḍu,

1 Z. A. S., Vol. IV, p. 74.

2 It may be noted that *Āvaṇi* is the name of Simha month and of the star Sarviṣṭhā, not Śravana.

மருவியகாகப்புள்ளுவசக்கணன் பழவை புள்ளு

விசவு மாவணியவிட்டம்—

7. Rudraṇ-Śaṅkaraṇ of Vaṇjippulai, a *Māḍambi* from Cheṅgannūr,
8. Dāmōdaraṇ-Kriṣṇaṇ of Vilakkilimaṅgalam from Tiruvallavāḷ,
9. Vikkīrama-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Makilaṅjēri, a *Māḍambi*, and
10. Śatti Vikkīramaṇ - Śatti of Kamugaṅjēri from Āraṇmuḷa.

After setting apart lands in Parappunāḍu at the rate of plots (having the sowing capacity) of six *kāḷam* (of paddy seed) and also one male and one female servant for each of these, the balance of land including forest, arable lands, compound sites and of labourers was left with them subject to the supervision of the king's representative: and from the *rakshābhōyam* accruing from these lands provision was made for the payment of 100 *para* of paddy per year by the *para* holding 10 *nāḷi* to the *uvachchan* blowing on the *kāḷam* (pipe).

100 *para* of paddy which had to be given per year to the gods of the Ayirūr and Pullel temples was ordered to be collected at the rate of 10 *para* from each of the ten individuals who were in the enjoyment of the *paḍagāram* lands of six *kāḷam* sowing capacity.

100 *para* of paddy per year which had to be collected from Kīrradichchuvaram was also arranged to be paid to the king's agents (*kōyimmār*) at the end of the festival days in the month of Meḍam and receipt obtained therefor.

In this manner was the cadjan order of the temple transactions written up and deposited in the temple treasury (*bhaṇḍāra*).

This apparently finishes the first record, but before passing on to the next section it may be of interest to note that, if the similarity in the names of persons coming from the same place can count for anything, three out of the ten persons mentioned above seem to have had some relatives figuring in the Huzur Office Plates of the Tiruvalla temple, (*T. A. S. II-173*). The following pairs of names may be noticed:

<i>Village.</i>	<i>Tiruvalla Plates.</i>	<i>Kilimanur Record.</i>
Vāvukāḍu (Vēlakāḍu)	Nārāyaṇan-Śendan	Śendan-Dēvan
Piṇaṅṇāḍu	Kumaran-Śendan	Nārāyaṇan-Śrīkumaran
Vilakkilimaṅgalam	Kṛishṇan-Dēvan	Dāmōdiran-Kṛishṇan
Makilaṅjēri	Dēvan-Vikkīramaṇ	Vikkīramaṇ-Nārāyaṇan

As the second group of individuals lived in or some years before Kollam 343, the persons figuring as donors to the Tiruvalla temple who may have been removed from them by one or, at the most, two generations may therefore have lived at the end of the 3rd century of the Kollam era, which period does not clash with the date assignable to the engraving of the Tiruvalla plates from palaeographical considerations.

Second section.

A second document states that the provision of 3 *para* of paddy required for the daily expenses of the temple was to met from the following sources:

1. from the lands and sites in Kārittumṛai, the fields called Idamaṇ and Āyiramaṇ in Nāvāikkalam and half of Neḍumpuram-paraṁbu, which were given to Maṇikaṇṭham-Mādhaviyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Kīlappērūr as freehold (*kārāḷma*), 360 *para* of paddy per year was to be measured at the rate of one *para* of good paddy per day;
2. the *bhaṇḍāra* paid 240 *achchu* on certain lands in Kaḍamba-nāḍu and Perumaṇṇūr belonging to Maṇikaṇṭham-Umaiymmaiyyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Kīlappērūr and from these lands 240 *para* of paddy had to be measured;
3. for another amount of 240 *achchu* paid on the lands called Paḷai-kkuḷam, Neḍumaṇ in Kottāarakarai, Aruvāchechēri in Kāttāmattala and Periya-mummi in Paḷlaikkal belonging to Kōdai-Āvaṇiyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Kīlappērūr, 240 *para* of paddy had to be measured; and
4. for a third equal amount of 240 *achchu* paid on the lands called Karichechēy and Muṭṭakkāḍu belonging to Dēva-daraṇ-Āvaṇiyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Tiruppāppūr, 240 *para* of paddy had to be measured.

Thus with this aggregate quantity of 1080 *para* of paddy, it was ordered that a daily dole of 3 *para* of paddy should be measured so as to provide 48 *nāḷi* of rice by the *irattamaḍai* (measure) of the temple: and from it the following scale of distribution of rice was fixed:

<i>Items of expenditure.</i>	<i>nāḷi.</i>	<i>uri.</i>	
the <i>mēlsānti</i> (worshipping priest)	4	1	
one <i>kīḷsānti</i> (his assistant)	3	1	
another <i>kīḷsānti</i> (do)	3		
<i>tirukkuḍa</i> (umbrella-bearer;)	2		
<i>śrībali</i> and <i>vaiśvadeva</i> offerings	3	1	
morning (<i>pulari</i>) offerings	5		
midday (<i>uchchi</i>) offerings	21	1	} 31 <i>nāḷi</i> + 1 <i>uri</i>
night (<i>attālam</i>) offerings	5		
<hr/>			
Total 48	<i>nāḷi.</i>		

The total daily offerings prepared with 31 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of rice, as noted above, were also ordered to be distributed among the temple servants in the following scale:

	<i>nāḷi.</i>	<i>uri.</i>
the <i>vāriyaṇ</i>	5	
the flower supplier (<i>tiruppallittāyaṇ</i>),	4	
the watchmen (<i>tirumānikāraḷ</i>)	3	
the woman-servant (<i>tēvaḍichchi</i>) who pounded the paddy and carried the hand lamps	2	
the drummers (<i>uvachchar</i>) who provided the seven items of service during <i>śrībali</i> , at 2 <i>nāḷi</i> + 1 <i>uri</i> each	17	1
<hr/> Total 31 1 <hr/>		

Third section.

It was also stipulated that there should be a change in the temple personnel once in every three years.

The following amounts were also ordered to be collected, probably as entrance fees (*aḍiyara* or *pādakāṇṇikka*), from

	<i>achchu.</i>
the <i>mēlśānti-nambi</i>	2
the <i>kīlśānti</i>	1
the <i>vāriyaṇ</i>	1
the <i>pallittūyam</i>	1
Total	5

and this amount of five *achchu* was to be utilised for the purchase of or repairs to the temple utensils and other wastages, without allowing the *kōyimmārs* and *ūrālars* who superintended the temple affairs to utilise any portion of it for their own use.

This expenditure had to be looked after by batches of two persons for each year. It was also ordered that if the above expenses were not properly administered, the incumbents of the year will have to vacate their posts in the *ūrāḷma* (committee of management), and that they should also settle any slight disputes or entanglements that may occur with reference to the temple holdings or to the temple itself.

The ten members (*ūrālars*) were thus divided into five batches of two members each, which had to hold office in turns for a term of one year:

	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Line.</i>
First year	1. Śuvākaraṇ-Dāmōdaraṇ of Kūrṛampalli	4, 31
	2. Nārāyaṇaṇ-Śrīkumāraṇ of Piṇaṇṇāḍu	5, 31
Second year	1. Dēva-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Vāraṇakōṭṭam	5, 32
	2. Dēvaṇ-Kōvaṇ of Kuḷaṇṇāḍu	5, 32
Third year	1. [Anantaṇ]-Kuṇṇaṇ of Pudevāḷkkasthānam	4, 32
	2. [Śeṇḍan]-Dēvaṇ of Vāvukāḍu	5, 32
Fourth year	1. Dāmōdiraṇ-Kṛishṇaṇ of Vilakkilimaṅgalam	6, 32
	2. Śatti-Vikkiraman of Kamukaṇjēri	7, 33
Fifth year	1. Vikkiramaṇ-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Makiḷaṇjēri	6, 33
	2. Rudraṇ-Śaṅkaraṇ of Vaṇjippulai	6, 33

and they had to administer the temple expenditure in the aforesaid manner, their eldest sons succeeding them in the temple management on their absence or demise.

This portion of the document seems to be contemporaneous with the first section, as the same ten members are mentioned in both of them.

Fifth section.

Then follows an incomplete passage referring to a gift of land in Nagarūr having the sowing capacity of 13 *para* of paddy, which was purchased by king Vīra-Udayamārttāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi from a certain Kumara-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Śeṅgaḷunīr-maṅgalam, *viz.*,

Kīḷkūṇḍārōḍi of the sowing capacity of 10 *para* of seed and 3 *para* of land in Mēkkāṇattūr.

The cadjan leaf then closes with the remark that the above was transcribed from the first four sheets of a set of copper plates.

Sixth section.

The sixth leaf begins with the note that the fifth copper-plate was missing at the time of the transcription itself and that the further copy is from the sixth plate of the set, the subject matter of which is in continuation of what must have been incised on the missing sheet.

It gives a catalogue of certain pieces of land which must have been given to the temple:—

<i>Name of place.</i>	<i>Capacity</i>		<i>Remarks.</i>
	<i>para.</i>	<i>idaṇ.</i>	
Enṇilam	11		
Toṭṭikkōḍu	5		
Maṇṇadi	7		
Taḍaṇṇōḍu	12		
Vetṭikkōḍu	4		
Vetṭiyattukaṇḍam	1	2½	
Perumbaravūr	1		
Śeṅgūru	10		
Seṇṇmāvēli	5		
Muṇḍakkal	3		
Śeṇṇkaḍaman	1		
Kīrttimaṅgalam	10		Occurs also in the Mitrā-nandapuram plate.
Aṇṇal	5		Perhaps a village in Pattanāpuram taluk.

In all, lands having the sowing capacity of 107 *para* of paddy were left with the temple officials (*dēvarkanmis*) after deducting the old dues and *mēlṇpāḍi*, to provide for the expenses of *tachchu* in the temple of Tiruppārkaḍal-bhaṭṭāraka. *Tachchu* may be Skt. *Dīkshā* as in the word *Tachchuḍaiya-kaimmaḷ*, the sacerdotal dignitary in charge of certain temples. As the total of the above items gives only about 75¾ *para*, the details relating to the balance of 31¼ *para* of land appear to have been lost in the missing fifth plate.

It is further stated that the *olai*-document relating to the above was deposited in the *bhaṇḍāra*, and it must therefore have been a separate record by itself.

Seventh section.

This section begins with the date Kollam 341, Chingam 1. It records that the following pieces of land were bought by the subordinate officials of Vīra-Udaiyamārttāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi and given as *kāḷśānti-virutti*:

<i>Name of land.</i>	<i>Capacity in para.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Ānāḍu-jīvitam-Miḷiyūr	20	Ānāḍu is a pakudi in Neḍu-maṅgaḍ taluk.
Vembāykuṇṇam-jīvitam-Kaṇḍamaṅgalam	10	Probably Vembāyam in the same taluk.
Nerpāḍu-jīvitam-Kīlmaṇa	10	
Land of Kaṇḍaṇ-Ravi of Mēlachchēri	10	
Mēvūr	10	Now called Mēvūrkkal in Chirayinkil taluk.
Ānāḍu-Śeṇuvala	10	
Total	70	

Eighth section.

This is dated on the 1st day of Mēḍam of the Kollam year 304 (in words) and relates to the lands in the eastern Chiraiyūrkkal which had been leased out under Kēraḷan-Ādichchavarman of Mullakkal, namely,

<i>Name of land.</i>	<i>Capacity in para.</i>
Aḍimayālakkōḍu	15
Mullakkal	50
Mēṭṭukkuḷi	20
Total	85

From these lands, 100 *para* of paddy had to be given to the officers (*adhikāraṇ*) and in exchange for the lands in Marudūr-Manṭōḍi in Chirayūrkkal which had been previously endowed as *mēḷśānti-virutti*, 100 *para* of paddy had also to be measured out in addition and the temple-servants (*dēvarkarmi*) were directed to take written receipts for these payments.

The penalty that was fixed for non-payment was double the quantity (at default) for the first occasion, double the default and an additional fine for two occasions of failure, while the punishment for remissness on three consecutive occasions is not explicit here. In other instances it is generally eviction of the tenants.

This transaction which had been written on cadjan and deposited in the temple treasury had originally constituted another separate document.

Ninth section.

Only one line of this section is now available and the year of this transaction is not also noted, only the first digit 3 of the Kollam year having been copied by the scribe. The following names occur in this line of writing:

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Kāḍavakkuṭṭumala	
ḷambela	This may be ḷamba in Chirayinkil Taluk.
Dēvaṇ-Ravi of Tiladamaṅgalam	Tiladamaṅgalam occurs also in the Kaviyur epigraph and Tiruvalla plates.

The record then stops abruptly in the middle of the 65th line, either because the further sheet of the set was not available or the transcription was not continued further. If the eighth sheet had not been available to the copyist, he will have entered a remark to that effect, but he has not done so.

The following additional proper names occur in the record:

<i>Name of place.</i>	<i>Text line.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Āraṇmuḷa	7	is a hamlet in the Tiruvalla taluk.
Āṇṇuvāchchēri	18	is in Kuḷakkāḍa-pakudi in the Kottarakara taluk.
Ayirūr	11	is a hamlet in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Ayirāṇikuḷam	4	is probably Ernakulam.
Cheṇṇaṇṇūr	5	is a taluk of the Quilon Division.
Chiraiyūrkkal	58	is in the Kummil pakudi of the Kottarakara taluk.
Iruṇṇādikkuḍal	5	is a town in Cochin State.
Iruṇṇalattūr		may be Irunnalur in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kaḍambanāḍu	16	is in the Perungulam-pakudi of the Nedumangad taluk.
Kamugaṇjēri	7	is in the Pattanapuram pakudi of the same taluk.
Kaḍamaṅgalam	53	
Karichchēy	20	is probably Karichchāyil in the Āvaṇaṇjēri pakudi of the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kāṭṭāmattala	18	
Kiḷappērūr	9	is a hamlet in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kiḷimāṇūr	3	is a pakudi in the same taluk.

<i>Name of place.</i>	<i>Text line.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Kīrādīchchuvaram	12	occurs in the Quilon inscription of Kollam 278.
Koṭṭārakkaraṇi	18	is a railway station on the Quilon-Shencotta line.
Kuḷaṅgāḍu	5	
Kummalattūr	50	may be only Kunnattūr or Kuntallūr in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kūṟṟambalḷi	4	
Makalaṅjēri	6	occurs in the Tiruvalla plates.
Mēlachchēri		
Melkāṇattūr	35	
Mīliyūr	52. 56	
Mūḷikkaḷam	4	is a village in the Alangad taluk.
Mullakkal	58	
Muṇḍakkal		may be Mudākkal
Muṭṭakkāḍu	20	may be a mistake for Muṭṭakaḍam or Muṭṭākkaḍagam near Kilimānuur.
Nagarūr	35	is adjacent to Kilimanur.
Nāvaykkaḷam	15	is a village near Āttingal in the Chirayinkil taluk: (Tirunāvāy, the famous Vaishṇava <i>divyadēśam</i> is in South Malabar).
Neḍuman	18	is probably the village in Nedumangad taluk.
Neḍumpuram	15	is in Chetṭivilākam-pakudi of the Trivandrum taluk.
Paravūr	4	is a village in the Quilon taluk and is a railway station.
Paḷaikkūḷam		If this is an incorrect rendering of Paḷaiyakunṟam, it is near Kilimanur.
Paḷikkal	18	is a village in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Piṇaṅṇāḍu	5	
Parappunāḍu	7	may be a mistake for Parappaṅgōḍ in the Nedumangad taluk. Parappa-nāḍu is in Malabar.
Perumanṇūr	16	Peruman is in the Quilon taluk.
Peruvanam	8	is the one in the Cochin State.
Puduvākkusthānam	4	

<i>Name of place.</i>	<i>Text line.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Pullel	11	now called Pallayil in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Seṅgaḷunīmaṅgalam	34	occurs in the Māmbaḷli plate.
Tiladamaṅgalam	64	occurs in Kaviyūr inscription and in the Tiruvalla plates.
Tiruppāppūr	64	is a village 10 miles north of Tiruvandruin.
Tiruvallavāḷ	6	is the headquarters of Tiruvalla taluk.
Vaṇjipuḷa	6	is in the Kottarakarai taluk.
Vāraṇakkōṭṭam	5	
Vāvukāḍu	5	may be a mistake for Vēḷakāḍu of the Tiruvalla plates.
Vilakkilimaṅgalam	6	occurs in the Tiruvalla plates.

Text.¹*First plate: second side.*

- 1 கொல்லம் நாசலந மாண்டெ² மகரத்தில் விபாழம் நின்ற மெடவாயறு பந்திரண்டு சென்ற விபாழமாண்ட உத்திரவும் பக்கம்³ திரயோநகியும் இந்நாளால் வெணாட்டு இளங்கூறு வாழுந்நருளிய
- 2 ஸ்ரீவிரதெவ⁴மார்த்தாண்டவர்மம் திருவடி கிழ⁵மேசிலவினு திட்டம் பண்ணிச்செருளிய திருப்பால்க்கடல் பட்டாரகர்க்கு⁶ அமச்சிலவும் நிச்சனவிக்கும்⁷ பிரம்மவீத்தினும் கற்பிச்ச பரி-
- 3 சாவிது [1*] ஷெ திருக்கொவிக்கல் பிரம்மவீத்தினு வெணாடு வாழுந்நருளின்ற ஸ்ரீவிர ஆதிச்சவர்மம் திருவடி கற்பிச்ச கொடுத்தருளிய கிளிமானூர் பூமியுந் காடும் கரயும் கரபுரயிடத்திடெ மானி-
- 4 டெம்⁸ ஷெ முக்கால்வட்டத்து ஊராழ்ம்மக்கு கொண்டபெர் வரபூர்க்கு⁸

1 Registered as No. 11 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. B.

2 Read °மாண்டை.

3 The *pakska* is not specified as either 'dark' or 'bright'; *pakska* also means simply the *tithi*.

4 Evidently a misreading for உதய°.

5 Read perhaps நடசிலவினு and நடச்சிலவும்.

6 Read நிச்சபவிக்கும் or நிச்சனடைக்கும்.

7 This may be a mistake for மானியம்.

8 Read பறஜர்.

¹ புதுவாச்சதான ந்தங்குந்தனும் முழிக்கனத்தினு கூற்றம்பள்ளிச் சு-
பாகரந் தாமொதரனும் அயிராணிகளத்தினு வாவுகாட்டு

- 5 ² திராதந் தெவனும் யிருங்நாடிக்குடல்க்கு வாரணெகொட்டத்து தெவநா-
ராயணனும் பெருவனத்தினும் ³ குலாங்நாட்டு தெவடெ⁴ கொடனும்⁵
செங்நந்நார்க்கு பெணங்நாடு நாராயணன் ஸ்ரீகுமாரனும்

Second plate: first side.

- 6 சே யாரு மாடம்பிகளில் வஞ்ஞிப்புழெய் ருத்திரன் சங்கரனும் திருவல்லா-
வாழ்க்கு விலக்கிலிமங்நலத்து தாமொதிரங் கிருட்டனும் சே யார் மாட-
ம்பிகளில் மகிழஞ்செரி விக்கிரம நாராயணனும்
- 7 ஆறம்முளக்கு கழகஞ்செரிக் கன்றி ⁶ விக்கிரமஞ்சத்தியும் ⁷ கூடய பெர் ப-
த்தினும் பெர் ஓந்நினு நிலம் அனுகலமும் இதினடுத்த பரப்புநாட்டின்
செம்மெ⁸ ஓள்ள காடும் கரயுடெ⁹ கரபுரயிடமும்
- 8 பெர் ஓந்நினு ஆனான் ஒன்றும் பெண்ணான் ஒன்றும் ஆகயில் ¹⁰ அறுபதிங்கல-
மும் ஆள் ¹¹ ஒருபதும் நீக்கி ஒள்ள நிலம் எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும் காடுங் க-
ரயுடெ¹² கரபுரயிடமும் ஆனும் கூட
- 9 கிழப்பெருந் நாடு வாயியிடெம் முத்து¹³ சே முக்கால்வட்டத் ததிகாரம் ஒ-
ண்டாயிருந்நருளும் கொயிம்மாரு காராழ்ம்மயாக அதிகரிச்சுகொண்டு
முக்கால்வட்டத்தின்னு மெலி சக்ஷாபொக-
- 10 மாங்கி ¹⁴ ராடிச்சமர்ந்து மாதெவர்க்கு ஸ்ரீவேலிக்கு காளம் ¹⁵ பாதின்ற ¹⁶ வபச்-
சன் னு ஆண்டு வையும் கொடுப்பான் ஸம்மகிச்ச நெல் பதினாழிப்பறயால்
நாறுபறய(ம்)ங் கொடுத்து¹⁷ இத்தொம்மும்

- 1 This occurs again in line 32 as 'புதுவாக்கனானந்தங்குந்தனும்; but the correct word seems to be புதுவாக்கனானம். அனந்தங் குன்றனும். புதுவாக்கனானம் may be புதுவாழ்க்கைனானம்.
- 2 The correct word for which திராதந் is evidently a mistaken reading cannot be guessed; it may be செந்நன் and வாவுகாடு may be வேழகாடு.
- 3 This name occurs in line 32 as குலாங்நாட்டு, which seems to be correct.
- 4 Read தெவங்; டெ in தெவடெ is evidently a misreading for க் and has similarly been misread in several other places.
- 5 கொடனும் may more correctly be கொவனும்.
- 6 This is probably செரிக் கத்திவிக்கிரமஞ் சத்தியும், compare line 33.
- 7 Read கூடய.
- 8 It occurs also as செம்மெ in l. 30 of the Manballi plates of Vīra Kēraḷavarman.
- 9 Read கரையும், vide note 6 above.
- 10 Read ஆகயில் அறுபதி.
- 11 Probably இருபதும்.
- 12 Read கரையங்.
- 13 The correct reading is doubtful, perhaps it is கடைவழியிடெ (= the temple threshold) யமைத்து or நாடுவாழியிடெ (= officer) யமத்து or நடவடிபடை (= country-custody).
- 14 Read ரட்ச்சிச்சுருந்து.
- 15 Read ஊதின்ற.
- 16 Read உவச்சன்னு.
- 17 Read கொடுத்து.

Second plate: second side.

- 11 ஆகிசுச்சு கொள்விதாக கற்பிச்சு [1*] கிளிமானூர் பூமி எப்பெர்ப்பட்ட
தினம் [1*] மலும் ஆயிரூர் தெவர்க்கும் புல்லெ[ல்*]த் தெவர்க்கும் ஆ-
வந்தவரபுங் கொடுக்கவெண்டு(ம்)ந் நெல் நூறுபறையும் இந்நிலம்¹ நடகாரம்
- 12 கொண்டதிகரிக்கின்ற பெர்²வந்தும் ஆறுகலம் நிலத்தினு நால்ப்பதின்
பறே³ செதுநெல் கொடுத்து வருவிதாகவும் கற்பிச்சு [1*] கிற்றடிச்சு
வரத்தினு கொடுக்கும் நெல் நூறுபறையும் ஆண்டுவரையும் மெடஞா-
- 13 மறு⁴ தீர்ந்தால்கடல் பட்டாரகர் திரு[வா]ள்⁵[வா]ள்ப் பின்றெ[வா]ள்
வெணுட்டு நிழல் மணிச்சமாய் வரின்ற⁶ அருள்வழி கொடுத்து குறியும்
கொண்டு வருவிதாகவும் கற்பிச்சிவிட மெல்லாம்⁸ செயல் ஒலெ
மெலெ-
- 14 முத⁹ பூபண்டாரத்திலிட்டிது [11*] ஷே முக்கால்வட்டத்து¹⁰ நிச்சலவுக்கு
வெண்டும நெல் மூன்றாப் பறக்கும்¹¹ கீழப்பெரூர் மணிகண்டம் மாதவி-
பாப பிள்ளையார் திருவடிக்கு காராழ்ம்ம கொடுத்த காரித்தும¹¹ -
- 15 ப் பூமியும் புரமிடமும் மற்றந் நாவாயிக்களத்தில் யிடுமண்ணும் ஆயிரப-
ண்ணு¹² மெப்பெர்ப்பட்டத்திம் மெலும் நெடும்¹³ ஆறும் பரம்பில் பா-
திரும் கூடுத நிக்தஞ்¹⁴ செவத்துவ நெல் ஒருபறெ செயிவதாக¹⁶

Third plate: first side.

- 16 தாண்டால் கொடுப்பான் கற்பிச்சு உ நாகயி¹⁵ ம் [1*] ஷே மணிக
ண்ட னுமய்யுமம்மெ¹⁷ ஆய பிள்ளையார் திருவடிக்கு ஒள்ள கீழப்பெரூர்
உடய கடம்பனும் பெருமண்ணாரும்
- 17 மற்று மெப்பெர்ப்பட்டத்திம் மெலும் பண்டாரத்தில் நின்றெடுத்து கொடு-
த்த அச்சு யிருநூற்றி நால்ப்பதினும்¹⁸ செயந்துமாறு கல்ப்பிச்ச நெல்
யிருநூற்றிநால்பது பறையும் [1*] ஷே கீழப்பெரூர் கொடுத

- 1 Read நடகாரம்.
2 Probably பத்தும்.
3 Read செய்துநெல் (= good paddy).
4 Read திருப்பாற்சுடல் as in other lines.
5 Read திருநாள் நான் பின்றெ நான்.
6 Read ஆள்வழிகொடுத்து.
7 This is expressed by a contraction.
8 There is some mistake here, it is perhaps கற்பிச்சிவிதமெல்லாம் செய்கட ஒலை.
9 This may be நிச்சல் நடச்சிலவுக்கு as in l. 15 of the Mamballi plate, or நிச்சல் சிலவுக்கு.
10 This ought to be முன்றுப்பறக்கும் as in l. 21 below.
11 There is a mistake here.
12 Read perhaps ஆயிரமண்ணும்.
13 There is some mistake here; probably it is நெடும்புறம்.
14 Read நிக்தஞ் செவத்துவ.
15 பற is expressed by the symbol ெ.
16 Read ஒருபறெச் செய்தாக.
17 Read மணிகண்ட னுமயம்மயாய; கீழப்பெரூர் உடய occurring after it, has perhaps to be taken be-
fore மணிகண்ட.
18 Read ெறுத்துமாறு.

- 18 ஆவணியாய பிள்ளையார் கருவடிக்கு ஒள்ள பழைக்குளமுடெ¹ கொட்டகார-
க்கரை நெடுமண்ணும காட்டாமத்தல ஆற்றுவாச்செரியும் பள்ளிக்கல்
பெரிய² மும்மிக்கும் எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதிம்மெலும்
- 19 பண்டாரத்தில் நின்றெடுத்த கொடுத்த அச்ச உாசரி³ னும்⁴ செதுமாறு க-
ற்ப்பிச்ச நெல் யிருநூற்றிநால்பது பறயும் [*] திறப்பாப்பூர் தெவதர-
ன் ஆவணியாய பிள்ளையார் கருவடிக்குள்ள
- 20 உசிச்செயும் நானுபறெத்தலுவம்⁵ முட்டக்கா⁶ நிம்⁷ இவயூர்குடெ எப்பெர்ப்ப-
ட்ட திம்மெலும் பண்டாரத்தில் திற்தும் கொடுத்த அச்ச⁸ ஒருநூற்றிநா-
ல்பாதினனும் கொடுக்குமாறு

Third plate: second side.

- 21 சுற்ப்பிச்ச நெல் யிருநூற்றிநால்பது பறயும்[*] கூடெ நெல்⁹ கண்ட அலிஎ
யும் கொண்டு நாள் ஒன்றின்னு நெல் முப்பறயால் அரி தெவர் இரட்ட-
மடயால் நால்பத்தெண்ணாழி ஆவதும் மெற்ச்சாந்திக்கு அரி நானாழி
பரியும்
- 22 கிழ்ச்சாந்தி ஒன்றின்னு அரி முந்நாழி¹⁰ அரியும் கிழ்ச்சாந்தி ஒன்றின்னு அரி-
புந்நாழியும் கர்க்குடக்கு¹¹ அரி யிருநாழியும் முச்செடெ¹² ஸீவெலிக்கு
¹³ வைச்சியாத்தெய்த்தின்னும் அரி முந்நாழி¹⁴ அரியும் புலரியெ திருஅமர்தினு
- 23 அரி அஞ்ஞாழியும் உச்சுக்கெ திருஅமர்தின்னு அரி யிருபத்தொருநாழி¹⁵ அ-
ரியும் இரா அத்தாளத் திருஅமர்தின்னு அரி அஞ்ஞாழியும் கூடெ அரி-
நால்பத்தெண்ணாழியும் நெராக இம்மார்க்கமெ சிலவும்¹⁶ சிலத்த வருவி-
தாகவும் [*]
- 24 இதில் திருஅமர்து சிலவின்ற அரி முப்பத்தொருநாழி¹⁷ அரியும் கொண்
வாரியாறு அஞ்ஞாழி அரி சொறும்¹⁸ திறப்பள்ளிதாயத்தின்னு¹⁹ நாலா-
ழி அரி சொறும் திருமெணிகாவல்க்கு நில்க்கும் பிள்ளைர்க்கு முந்நாழி
அரிச் சொறும் திரு-
- 25 அமர்தின்னு நெல் சுத்துவிதும் கைவிளக்கு பிடிப்பிதும்²⁰ செயிவின்றெ
தெவடிச்சிகர்க்கு யிருந்நாழி அரிச் சொறும் திருவெலிக்கு²¹ பணியெ-
ழுதும் கொட்டின்னெ²² வயச்சுகள் பெர் [எ]ழின்னும்

- 1 Read குளமுடெ.
2 There is some misreading here.
3 Read செல்லுமாறு.
4 The correct name cannot be guessed.
5 Read இவையுல் or it may be குவையுல்கூட as in p. 51 of T. A. S. Vol. III.
6 Read இருநூற்றி.
7 Read கூடெ.
8 Read உரியும், உ. having been misread as அ.
9 திருக்குடைக்கு.
10 Read தில் (?) ஸீவெலிக்கும்.
11 Read வைச்சுவதெய்த்தின்னும் (Skt. வெவ்வுதெவ).
12 Read செறுத்தி.
13 Read திருப்பள்ளித்தாமத்தின்னு
14 Read நானாழி.
15 Cancel ம்.
16 Read திருப்பவிக்கு பணியெழுங்(ம்).
17 Read உவச்சுகள்.

Fourth plate: first side.

- 26 பெரொன்றின்னு அரி யிருநாழி¹ அரி¹ செந்நதாக பெர் எழின்னும் பதினெழு
நாழி² அரிச் சொறும் கொடுத்து நெராவருவிது [11*] பெப்பு² கழிப்பு-
முன் [பொ] தாண்டில் மெச்சாந்தி நம்பித்தெ
- 27 கொள்ளும் அச்ச இரண்டும் கிழ்(ர்)ச்சாந்தியிடெ கொள்ளும் அச்ச ஒன்று-
ம் வாரியனிடெ கொள்ளும் அச்ச ஒன்றும் பள்ளித்தாயத்திடெ³ கொ-
ள்ளும் அச்ச ஒன்றும் கூடெ அச்ச
- 28 அஞ்சும முன்றெ ஆண்டில் நடைவழியிடெ⁴ முவாண்டாயி கூடி சிரிகாரியம்
செயிவின்றெ கொயிம்மாரும் ஊராளரும் கூடி⁵ தங்நரெஞ்ஞ வக கூவி-
யிடெ⁶ கொள்ளாதெ
- 29 ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்தில் வைப்பிச்ச பட்டாரக்கரெக்கு வெண்டும் பாத்திரத்தின்-
னும் அழிவின்னும் கொள்விதாகவும் கற்பிச்ச [11*] இச்சிலவு ஓராண்-
டில் இரிருவரு கூடி செலத்துமாறும் கல்ப்பிச்சிது [11*]
- 30 இச்சிலவு முட்டுவிதாகில் ஊராம்மயெ விட்டு பொவிதாகவும் [11*] பட்டா-
ர[கர்க்*] கொள்ள தொம்மின்னும் ஸ்ரீகொவில்க்கும்⁷ மொரெத்தம் வ-
ரும்பொழி தவிடெ கூடி நின்று

Fourth plate: second side.

- 31 *பரிபிராதர் வரு அறதல [11*] முதலாண்டு செலத்தும் ஊராளரு பெர் கு-
ற்றம்பள்ளிச் சுவாகரன் தாமோதிரனும் பிணங்காட்டு நாராயணன் ஸ்ரீ-
குமாரனும் இரண்டாமாண்டு வாரணக்கொட்டத்து
- 32 தெவநாராயணனும் குளங்காட்டு தெவடெ⁹ கொடனும் முன்றாமாண்டு பு-
துவாக்க ஸ்ரீராம¹⁰ ந்தகுத்தனும் வாவுகாட்டு¹¹ திராதன் தெவனும்
நாலாமாண்டு விலக்கிலிம்நலத்து தாமோதிரன் கிருட்டனும்
- 33 கழுஞ்செரி சத்திவிக்கிரமனும் அய்யாமாண்டு மகழஞ்செரி விக்கிரம நாராய-
ணனும் வஞ்ளிப்புழெ ருத்திரன் சங்காணும் இம்மார்க்கமெ சிலவு சிலத்-
தி இவர் ஒருத்திரில் மூத்தபுத்திர அதிகாரம் செலுத்தி-
- 34 வருவிதும்¹² [11*] ஸ்ரீவிதெவ¹³ மார்த்தாண்டவரம்ம திருவடி நகருநில்
செங்ககழு¹⁴ வீரமங்கலத்து மாரநாராயணனிட்டெ¹⁵ விலயில் கொண்-
ட கிழக்காண்டொரவி¹⁶ பதின்பறெ வித்துபாடும் ஸெயில் முந்நூறு பற

1 Read உரிச்சொருக and உரிச்சொறும்.

2 பெயர்ப்பு கழிப்பு or ஒப்புக்கழிப்பு முன்றெ ஆண்டில்.

3 Read பள்ளித்தாயத்திடெ.

4 Probably நடவடியிடெ or நடவாழியிடெ? as in L. 9 above.

5 This may perhaps be தங்நன் தங்நன் or தங்கன்க்கொள்ள as in L. 43 of the Mamballi plates.

6 Read கூவிக்.

7 It is not possible to make this out; it may be முறைகுற்றம்.

8 This may probably be பரியரியாதெ வரு அருது.

9 Read தெவங் கொவனும்.

10 See footnote 1 on page 79 ante.

11 See footnote 2 on page 79 ante.

12 Read வருவிது or வருவதாகவும்.

13 Read ஸ்ரீவீர உதயமார்த்.

14 Read செங்நமுநீர்மங்.

15 Cancel ட்.

16 Probably கிழக்குண்டாரோடி.

35 நெல்லில் ¹கூறிக்கொடுத்த கரிக்கின்ற மெக்காணத்தூர் பூமி முப்பற வித்து
பாடும கூடே நிலம் பதிமுப்பற வித்துபாடும் அதின்னு ²நடும் காடும்

[இது - க முதல் ச வரை செம்பு பட்டயம் சம் கண்டு எழுதியது]³

[Fifth plate missing.]

Sixth plate: first side.

[நாடு-மது பட்டயம் வந்திட்டில்லா -க மது-]

- 46 நிலம் இடங்நாழியால் எழுந்நாழி வித்துபாடும் ⁴எண்ணிலம் பதினொருபற
வித்துபாடும் தொட்டிக்கொடு நிலம் அயிம்பற வித்துபாடும் மண்ணடி
நிலம்.
- 47 எழுபற இடங்நாழியால் அஞ்நாழி வித்துபாடும் தடாங்நொடு நிலம் பந்திரு
பற வித்துபாடும் வெட்டிக்கொடு நிலம் நாப்பற வித்துபாடும்
வெட்டியத்துகண்டம் ஒருபற இடங்நாழியால் யிருநாழி
- 48 உ.நி வித்துபாடும் பெரும்பறயூர்⁵ நிலம் ஒருபற வித்துபாடும் செங்குறு நி-
லம் பதின்பற வித்துபாடும் செறுமாவெலிநிலம் அயிம்பற வித்துபா-
டும் முண்டக்க நிலம் முப்பற வித்து பாடும் செறுகடமண்⁷
- 49 நிலம் ஒருபற வித்துபாடும் கீர்த்திமங்கலம் பதிம்பற வித்துபாட்டிம் மெல்
பாட்டெ⁸ கொள்ளும் நெல் யிருபத்தொருபறயும் ⁹அஞ்சனிகொள்ள
பூமிபதினது அயிம்பற வித்துபாடும் ஆக நிலம்
- 50 பதினாழி பறயால் ஒருநூற்றொழு பற வித்துபாடும் இவயூ¹⁰ எல்லாற்றினும்
தன்ன காடும் கரையும் கரப்புயிடவும் ஆளும் மிக் கு ருந்நலத்தூர் ¹¹கண்ட-
வயத்திரனுடெ அதிகாரரு கொண்டய

1 Probably கூறுகொடுத்த [தி*] பரிக்கின்ற.

2 Read படும்.

3 The portion in brackets indicates that the preceding is a true copy of the first four sheets of a set of copper plates.

4 This remark in the cadjan copy indicates that the fifth plate of the set is missing and that the following is a transcript from the sixth plate onwards.

5 There is some mistake in the name of the land.

6 Read பெரும்பறயூர்.

7 செறுகெடுமண் occurs in l. 11 of the Mamballi plate of Virakēḷavarman, and செறுகுழிமண் in l. 57.

8 Read பாட்டெ.

9 This may possibly refer to அஞ்சனாவாரம்.

10 Read இவை எல்லாவற்றினும்

11 Read கண்ட னைத்திரனுடெ

Sixth plate: second side.

- 51 தொம்ம எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும் கூட கீழ்ப்பெருர் திருப்பாற்க்கடல்பட்டார-
கர்க்¹ தச்சிந்தரமாறு தெவரு கர்ம்மிகளொடு கூடா² விட்டுக் கொடுந்-
து³ கீழிலயம்⁴ பெர் மெல்ப்பாதியும் விட்டி⁵
- 52 திக்கி ஒள்ளது கொண்டு தச்சு பண்ணுமாறும் கல்ப்பிச்சு ஒலயும் எழுதி ஸ்ரீ-
பண்டாரத்திவிட்டிது [11*]முந்தூற்றுநால்பத்தொன்றாமாண்டெ சிங்-
வஞாயது ஒன்று சென்ற நாள் ஆநாடு சிவித்தத்தில் "வக மிளியூர்"⁷
- 53 ப் புமி யிருபதுபறெ வித்துபாடும் இதின்னு⁸ நடுகட காடும் கரயும் கரப்பு-
ரயிடமும் எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும் வெம்பாய்⁹ கூன்றஞ் சிவித்தத்தில் கண்ட-
மங்கலத்தினைக்கொள்ள தொம்முடெ காரியத்திம் மெடெ¹⁰ ஆண்டு-
- 54 எரெ கொள்ளும் நெல் பதின்பறயும் நெற்பாடு சிவித்தத்தில் கிளம்னைக்கு ஒ-
ள்ள தொம்மிம்மெல் கொண்டுவரும் நெல் பதின்பறயும் மெல்ப்படியில்
மெலச்செரி கண்டன் இரவிக் கொள்ள தொம்மின்மெல்
- 55 கொண்டுவரும் நெல் பதின்பறயும் மெலூர்க்கொள்ள தொம்மின்மெல் மெ-
ல்ப்படியில் கொள்ளும் நெல் பதின்பறயும் ஆனாட்டு செறுவலசைக்காத¹¹-
ரன் தொம்மின்மெல் கொண்டுவரும் நெல் பதின்பறயும்

Seventh plate: first side.

- 56 ஆக ஆண்டுவரயும் பதினாழிப்பறயால் கொண்டுவரும் நெல் அயம்பதுபறெ-
ச்¹² செந்தும் வரு¹³ மிளியூர் நிலம் யிருபதுபற வித்துபாடுங் காடுங் கரயு-
ம் கரெபுரயிடவும் கூட ஸ்ரீவிரவதெவ¹⁴ மார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்ம திருவடி-
- 57 க் கமெஞ்ச அதிகாரர் விலயில் கொண்டு கிடந்ம்மார்க்கமெ கீழ்ப்பெருர் தி-
ருப்பாற்க்கடல் பட்டாரகர்க்கு சாந்திசெய்யும்¹⁵ இரவியர் கீழ்ச்சாந்திக்கு¹⁶
நிரத்தியாக ஆசந்திரவர் கற்பிச்சிது [11*]முந்தூற்றுநாலா-

- 1 Probably செலவின்துமாறு as in l. 72 of the Mamballi plates of Virakēlavarmā; but it is not certain. It may also be *tachchu* (skt. *Dīkshā*?) as in *Tachchudaiya-kutimal*.
- 2 Read கூடி.
- 3 Read கொடுத்து.
- 4 This is not clear; it may perhaps be கீழியக்கம் as on page 91 of the T. A. S., Vol. IV.
- 5 Read விட்டுக்கி.
- 6 Read சிவித்தத்தில்.
- 7 This occurs as வருமிளியூர் in line 56 below.
- 8 Read படுங்.
- 9 Read வெம்பாய்க்குன்றஞ்.
- 10 Read மெல் but the expression occurs in other places as தொம்மின்மெல்.
- 11 Probably செறுவனைக் கொள்ள.
- 12 அயம்பதுபறெச் செய்தும்.
- 13 This occurs as வகமிளியூர் in l. 52 above; but here it may be கெடி மிளியூர்.
- 14 Read வீர உதயமார்த்தாண்ட.
- 15 Read இரு பியர் or இருவர்
- 16 Read விருத்தியாக.

- 58 மரண்டெ¹ மெட்டொயறு ஒன்று சென்ற-நான்-முல்லக்கல் கெருளன்² ஆதிச்-
சவரம்மன் கீழ் கிள சிரெயூர்க்கலில் ஒற்றிகொண்டதிகரிக்கின்ற நிலம்
³அடிமயால்கொடுந்தின்⁴ அயிம்பறே வித்துபாடும்⁵ மலெக்கலில்
- 59 "மூந்நனநப்பெருர் நிலம் அயிம்பது பறே வித்துபாடும்⁶ ஷெயூர்⁷ மெடுதெ
ருளி நிலம் யிருபது பற வித்துபாடும் ஆகயில்⁸ என்பத்தன்பறே வித்-
துபாடினு உடென் ஆண்டுவரையும் அதிகார்க்கு கொடுக்குமாறு
- 60 கற்பிச்ச நெல் பதி[னா]ழி பறயால் நூறுபறே⁹ செவதும் ஆண்டு வரயும்
தி[ரு*]ப்பார்க்குடல்ப் பட்டாரகர்க்கு மெச்சாந்தி செய்யுமவர்க்கு மெ-
ல்சாந்தி விருத்திக்கு முன்னம் சிரெயூர்க்கலு

Seventh plate: second side.

- 61 மருதூர் மண்டொடி மெடு¹⁰ கல்பிச்ச நெல்லினு¹¹ பகரம்நிரத்தி வக-
யிட்டி கொடுத்து¹² ஆண்டுவரையும் நெல் நூறுபறயும் அளவு கொடுத்து
நெவரு கற்மமிகள் எழுத்தினால் குறியும் கொண்டு-
- 62 வருமாறும் இசிலவு ஒன்று¹³ முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டியும் இரண்டு துடெ
முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டியும் தேண்டவும் மூன்று முட்டுகில்¹⁴ கெருளன்²
ஆதிச்ச-
- 63 வர்மமக்கொள்ள தொம்மு என்பத்தயிம்பறயும் வித்துபாடு ஆண்டுவரையும்
நெல் நூறுபறயும் கொடுக்கவதும்¹⁵ மெச்சாந்தி விருத்திக்கு அளவு
கொள்ளுமாறும் அளவு கொடுக்குமாறும் கற்பிச்ச ஸீபண்டாரத்தில்
- 64 ஸீபையும் எழுதி யிட்டிது [11*] ந¹⁶ டெ மீதுனஞாயறு காடவக்-
கட்டுமலக்கு மேலத்திலதமங்ஙலத்து தெவன் இரவிக்கு இளம்பெல
கொயிம்மாரொடு வளக்கு¹⁷ நாவுடெ கயின்று
- 65 மொள்ள தொம்மு அப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும்¹⁸

- 1 Read மரண்டை as in other places.
- 2 Read கெருளன்.
- 3 The correct name is not known.
- 4 Read பதின் அயிம்பறே which gives the total 85 puz in the next line.
- 5 Read முல்லக்கலில் as in line 58.
- 6 There seems to be some mistake in the name.
- 7 Read perhaps மெட்டுக்குழி or மெடுக்குழி?
- 8 Read ஆகயில் என்ப".
- 9 நூறுபறேச் சொந்தும்.
- 10 Read மருதூர் மண்டொடிமெல்.
- 11 It means 'after settling the equivalent'.
- 12 Read கொடுத்து.
- 13 Read ஒரு துடெ where துடெ is an incorrect form of தடவை. It occurs also as துடை in the Vellāni inscription (Vol. III, p. 36).
- 14 துடெ is omitted after மூன்று; the penalty for the third default is not clearly expressed.
- 15 Read perhaps கொடுக்கவதும்.
- 16 The year has been left out.
- 17 This is unintelligible; நாவுடெ may be a misreading for நாடுங். கயின்னெழுடி occurs in the Tiru-
valla plates as a land-name.
- 18 The cadjan copy stops here.

No. 25—Tiruvīdangodu Inscription of Kollam 864.

This inscription is engraved on a stone set up near the Mosque at Tiruvīdāṅgōḍu and relates to the construction of a shed at Pūdūr for the convenience of strangers and registers a gift of land and *puraiyidam* for its proper upkeep. The inscription is in the Tamil language and alphabet and its wording is rather very loose and redundant, as is the case with later epigraphs.

Text.¹*First face.*

- 1 ஹர்நஸ்ஸுக [I*]
- 2 சங்கத்தில ஸ்யாழ்-
- 3 ம் நன்ற கொல்லம்
- 4 அர[சு]ரசு ஒரு மார்க-
- 5 ழி மீம் உரசு சென்ற
- 6 புதனாச்சையும
- 7 மகயிரமும் ஸூலுவ-
- 8 பக்கிஷத்து திறையெ-
- 9 ரதெசியும் சுபதி-
- 10 றமாந்தியோக-
- 11 மும் இந்நாளில்
- 12 புதுவூர்தெசத்து
- 13 சணக்கு தெவனிர-
- 14 வியும் பள்ளிச்.
- 15 சல் ஈச்சுவரன்
- 16 ஈச்சவானும் பெ-
- 17 ர[ல்லா]பிள்ளையா-
- 18 ன் பிள்ளையானும்
- 19 ஷெ தெசத்து புது-
- 20 வூர் அம்பலம் கெ-
- 21 ட்டி முகிக்கையில் வெ-
- 22 சழம் குறைப்பணி-
- 23 யும் முகிச்சு தானப்பி-
- 24 றமாணமாக விட்டுருடுத்த
- 25 நிலம்[I*] புதுவூர் தெ-
- 26 சத்து ஷெ குளத்தின்
- 27 கீழ் நீருண்டு உ விளை-
- 28 யு முருக்கறை தடி க உ
- 29 ந. ப—யும் ஷெ கண்ட-
- 30 ச்சை குளத்தின்
- 31 [கீழ்] பிள்ளையான்
- 32 பிள்ளையான ஓற-
- 33 [த்த]ன் நா[ரா]யணன்

1 Registered No. 69 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. B.

Second face.

- [One line damaged].
 34 கொண்ட
 35 நடுவில் நிலம்
 36 ந. ப - க்கு எல்லை
 37 ஆவிது [1*] உப்பு-
 38 த்தறைக்கும் செ
 39 னம்ப [1*] தைக்கும்
 40 நடுவில் நிலம்
 41 ந. ப. தைக்கும் [1*] மு
 42 ஹோயிக்கும்
 43 நால்லை [1*] வை-
 44 க உழப்பட்ட
 45 நடுவில் நில-
 46 ம் ந. ப. யும் மு
 47 முக்கறை-தடி.
 48 க நீர் நால்-
 49 எல்லை உ-
 50 ழப்பட்ட நில-
 51 ந. ப. யும் ஆக-
 52 த்தடி. இரண்-
 53 டினால் நிலம்
 54 ஈ. ப. யும் ஹை
 55 அம்பலத்து-
 56 க்கு விட்டு குடி-
 57 த்தா [ன்] நில-
 58 ம் காடும்
 59 கரையும்
 60 முருக்க[றை]
 61 விழாகம் உ-
 62 [ட்டப்பட்ட] ந-
 63 ருள்ளை
 64 உழப்பட்ட

Third face.

- 65 முருக்கறை விழாகம் பு-
 66 ரையடம் மண்ணடங்-
 67 க மரமடங்க தடி இர-
 68 ண்டினால் நிலம் ஈ. ப. யும்
 69 முருக்கறை விழாகம்
 70 புரையடம்மும் [1*] ஹை-
 71 யார் கெட்டி முகி-
 72 ச்ச அம்பலத்துக்கு த-
 73 னப்பிறமாணமா-
 74 க நிலம் ஈ. ப. யும் பு-
 75 ரையடம் ஒன்றும் த-

- 76 றனப் பிரமாம-
 77 ரக விட்டு கல்லும்
 78 வெட்டி நாட்டிக்கு-
 79 ித்தார்கள் [*] தெவன்
 80 இரவி முதல் பெரும்
 81 பள்ளிச்சல் ஈச்ச-
 82 வரன் ஈச்சவரனு-
 83 ம் அய்யப்பன் மா-
 84 டப்பன் முதல் பெ-
 85 ரும் தானப்பிறமா-
 86 ணமாக பிரமாங்கு-
 87 ழியில் மெற்கு தெக்கு ஆக
 88 நிக்கும் குற்றிமரம் ஒன்றுங்
 89 கூட கல்லுவெட்டி நாட்டி
 90 க்குடுத்த . . [*] . . .
 91 க்கில் போகிற . ண்டாம்
 92 நிலமும் புரையிடமும்
 93 பாவிச்சுக்கொண்டு த-
 94 [ன்]மம் இறுத்தினட்டி த-
 95 ண்ணிரும் [சண்ணு] ம்பு-
 96 ம் குடுத்து அம்பலத்தில்
 97

Fourth face.

- 98 சாவடியும்
 99 கெட்டிப்பெ-
 100 ணிவைச்ச-
 101 கொண்டு இ-
 102 ருக்கையில்
 103 இந்நிலத்தினு-
 104 ம் புரையிட-
 105 த்தினு தடை-
 106 இடைக்க . .
 107 ருகில் ஷெ தெ-
 108 சத்து நாலு பெ-
 109 பருங் கூடி த-
 110 டை தித்து குடு-
 111 க்குமாலும் [*]இ-
 112 ந்தி[ல*]த்தினும் பு-
 113 ரயடத்தினும்
 114 யாதா ஒருவ-
 115 ர் ஆகிலும் இர-
 116 ண்டகம் நி[ரை]-
 117 னக்க[ன்ற] பெர் பெ-
 118 கங்கைக்கரை-
 119 யில்[நி]ன்று
 120 காராம் ப-

- 121 ஸ்வஸ்திகை[ர*]-
 122 ஸ்ரீமத்தாழ்வ-
 123 ருடம் [ஸகயி]டு.
 124 யத் துக்கா-
 125 ஸ்ரீநிவாஸா-
 126 கவுடம் [1*] இப்ப-
 127 டி-தந்தித்தந்தி
 128 இந்நிலைம
 129 புரையுட-
 130 ம் தானப்ப-
 131 நமஸ்கரி-
 132 க் கல்வெட்டி
 133 காட்டிக்கு-
 134
 135

Translation.

Hari ! Be it well ! On this day *i. e.*, the 24th expired of the month of Mārgaṣī in the Kollam year 864 in which Jupiter stood in Simha, a Wednesday the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight which had Mṛigaśīrsha-nakshatra and Subhadrāśīma-yōga, Dēvaṇ-īraṇi, the accountant of Pudevūr, Īchchuvārāṇ of Paḷlichehal and Pollappiḷḷai *alias* Piḷḷaiyāṇ, who took up the construction of the *ambalam* (temple) at Pudevūr, completed the balance of work and made the following gifts of land:—

(i) The paddy-yielding land called Murukkarai fed by the tank in Pudevūr-dēsam, 1 *taḍi* (in extent and having the sowing capacity) of three *kurunī*,

(ii) the middle (block of) land within the four peg-marked boundaries (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kurunī* watered by Kaṇḍachchaikulam and obtained from Orattāṇ-Nārāyaṇāṇ, the son of Piḷḷaiyāṇ, *i. e.*, the three *kurunī* of land lying between Upputtarai and Śeṇamparai.

Thus the lands, *viz.*, the middle peg-marked block (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kurunī* and the land called the Murukkarai, which is 1 *taḍi* (in extent and having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kurunī*—altogether, lands (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kurunī*: these lands were assigned to the said temple inclusive of *nilam*, *kāḷu*, *karai*, Murukkarai-viḷāgam with its four boundaries, and the soil of and trees on the *puraiyiḍam* called the Murukkarai-viḷāgam-puraiyiḍam. These lands (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kurunī* comprised in two *taḍi* and Murukkarai-viḷāgam-puraiyiḍam, were given as charity to the shed built by the said persons, and they had the gift engraved on stone and had it setup.

Dēvaṇ-īraṇi, Īchchuvārāṇ-Īchchuvārāṇ of Paḷlichehal, Ayyappaṇ-Māḍappaṇ and others also gave as charity the *kurri* tree, which lies in the west and south of Piraṁāṅguḷi.

If while in enjoyment of these two lands and the *puraiyiḍam*, they conduct the charity supplying water and chunam and in a *chāraḍi* built in the *ambalam*, and any impediment or obstruction arise to the said lands and *puraiyiḍam*, the four persons of the said village shall meet and jointly free the impediment.

If any one think evil to these lands and *puraiyidam*, he shall incur the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges.

Thus agreeing, these lands and *puraiyidam* were given as charity, accompanied by a deed which was engraved on a stone and set up.

No. 26—Tiruvidangodu Inscription of Kollam 628.

The subjoined inscription is engraved in Vatteluttu on a stone set up near the girls' school at Tiruvidangōdu. On the importance of this document, the following note has been made in the Annual Report for 1096 M. E.—

“It tells us that there existed sharp differences between the two communities of Vellāṇḍar and Vellālar from times earlier than the date of the record *i. e.*, Kollam 628, Śittirai 9, leading even to a cleavage and to the adoption of such measures as were calculated to provoke a complete estrangement of the two sects. The inscription registers a social ostracism passed by the Vellālar against the Vellāṇḍar for some offence committed by the latter. This order is further stated to be in accordance with two other previous stone epigraphs on the same subject. It lays down that the Vellāṇḍar should not be allowed to take in marriage any girls from the Tamil parts, that they should not be engaged even for coolly wages, that they should not be made to write public accounts or to manage the administration of the country, and that they should not enter in to any kind of transactions with them. At the end of the inscription is given a list of 23 persons who committed the offence which gave rise to this piece of drastic legislation; and it is said that these 23 persons should be put to death wherever found. It may be thought that by Vellāṇḍar, persons belonging to the modern *nāḍār* sect are meant. In this connection it is worth remembering that in the first of the clauses given above *viz.*, that the Vellāṇḍar should not be allowed to marry girls from the Tamil country shows clearly that the two sects could intermarry before. Besides, all through the record the word used is *nāḍar* and not *nāḍār*. As such, we may assume that the latter community is not meant by the inscription. The Vellāṇḍar who have to be regarded as equal in their social status to the Tamil Vellālar and as having marital connections with them prior to the commission of the offence, should have been so termed from the country (*nāḍu*) whence they originally hailed; and it is not unlikely that country is in South Travancore.”

A similar record exists at Kallidaikkurichchi in the Tinnevely District.

Text.¹

- 1 ஷ்ஷித் து [11*] நன்றாக
- 2 கொல்லம் கூயடர் அ-
- 3 டாமாண்டு சித்திரை
- 4 மாதம் கூவு முன்-
- 5 இள் நாட்டிய க-
- 6 ல்லு இரண்டு [லு]ம் வெ-

1 Registered as No. 67 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

- 7 ள்ளாழறை வெள்ளநாட்-
- 8 ர் பிழைக்கையாலே நாட்-
- 9 டிய கல்லினு படி எ-
- 10 துத்தண்ணெமே இப்-
- 11 பொது வெள்ளாழறை வெ-
- 12 ள்ளநாடர் பிழைக்கை :-
- 13 யாலே வெள்ளநாடர்
- 14 தமிழ்ப் பாகத்துப் பெண்-
- 15 ணை கெட்டருதென்றும்
- 16 கைய்யாளருதென்றும் ந-
- 17 ம்மொடுகூடக் கூ-
- 18 விச்செவகம் செவிக்-
- 19 கருதென்றும் காரண-
- 20 ப்பட அருதென்று-
- 21 ம் காரியம் பறைய
- 22 அருதென்[*]தும் கணக்கெ-
- 23 முதருதென்றுந் தெச-
- 24 ம் கைய்யாள அரு-
- 25 தென்றும் கல்பி-
- 26 ச்சு [||*]பிழைச்சவர்-

Second face.

- 27 க்கு பெர்-
- 28 வழி பறு
- 29 வன வசுவ-
- 30 ங்கரனும்
- 31 அய்யு[ப*]பன்
- 32 மாத்தாண்டனு-
- 33 ம் குமான்
- 34 ராமனும் அ-
- 35 ய்யப்பா-
- 36 ண்டயும் மா-
- 37 த்தாண்ட மழ-
- 38 வராயனும்
- 39 [து]ம்பிச்சல்
- 40 மாத்தாண்ட ம-
- 41 முவராயனும்
- 42 நம்பன் தொ-
- 43 ண்டைமானும்
- 44 செதொ மாத்தா-
- 45 ண்டபணிக்க-
- 46 னும் காரை கு-
- 47 ன்றனும் கொட்-
- 48 டூர் முதலியா-
- 49 னும் பர்ப்ப-
- 50 ன் பர்ப்பன் ம-
- 51 க்கள் இரண்டு

Third face.

- 52 பெரும் படைச்சு-
 53 ல் முத்தையானும்
 54 மாலம்பி நிரப-
 55 பர ஈச்சம்பி பெ-
 56 ரூர் நாயர் அய்யன்
 57 பாப்பனும் மாத்தான்-
 58 டனும் ஆருசெம்பி-
 59 பணிக்கனும் சடை-
 60 பன் கொதையும் வ-
 61 ளவன்(ன்) கண்ணனும்
 62 இமி[க]ம் முருகனும்
 63 தூவத்து இ[ராமன]ம்
 64 ஆகப்பெர் [உரு]ம கண்-
 65 [ெ]ட்டத்து கொல்லுமான்
 66 கல்ப்பிச்சுது [||*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! Be it well ! On this day, the 9th of the month of Sittirai in the Kollam year 628, as the Vellānāḍar offended the Vellālar, the following stipulations are ordered, just as they were adopted in two stone inscriptions set up on a previous occasion, when the (same) Vellānāḍar had offended the Vellālar:—

The Vellānāḍar should not marry girls from the Tamil parts: neither should they keep them. They should not do even cooly service with us. They should not transact any business with us. They should not write (our) accounts or be allowed to manage the administration of (our) villages.

The list of persons who offended (in the present instance) are.—
 Śuvaṅgaran; Ayyappaṇ-Mārttāṇḍan, Kumāraṇ-Rāmaṇ, Ayyappāṇḍai, Mārttāṇ-
 da-Maḷavarāyaṇ, Tumbichcha-Mārttāṇḍa Maḷavarāyaṇ, Nambaṇ-Tonḍaimāṇ, Śēdō
 Mārttāṇḍa-Paṇikkaṇ, Kārai-Kuṇṇaṇ, Kōttur-Mudaliyaṇ, Parpaṇ; the two sons of
 Parpaṇ-Paḍiachchul-Muttaiyaṇ, Mālembi, Nirappara-Īchchambi, Pērūr-Nāyar,
 Ayyaṇ-Pappaṇ, Mārttāṇḍan, Ārusembi-Paṇikkaṇ, Śāḍaiyaṇ-Kōḍai, Vaḷavaṇ-Kaṇ-
 naṇ, Imigaṇ-Murugaṇ, Tūvattu Irāmaṇ

In all, (these) twenty-three persons are ordered to be put to death wherever seen.

APPENDIX.

PAGE.	KOLLAM DATES AND THEIR ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS.
13	Śaka 1691, Kollam 945, Virōdhin, Arpaśi 23, Sunday, Uttirāḍam śu. 7; = A. D. 1769, Sunday, November 5; f.d.t. .03; .43.
27	Kollam 925, Tai 5, Saturn in Vriśchika, Jupiter in Mīna, Wednesday, śu. 7: = A. D. 1750, Wednesday, January 3; .76; (Rēvati .86).
44	Kollam 278, Jupiter in Kanni, Simha 9; Details not enough for verification; but the English date may cor- respond to A. D. 1102, August 4, Monday; ba. 4.16; 27.54.
56	Kollam 878, Iḍavam 7, Thursday, Rōhiṇī, śu. tritīyā: = A. D. 1703, Thursday, May 6. On this day <i>tritīyā</i> commenced at .95 and Rōhiṇī was current till .29 only. 'Iḍavam 7 <i>senṇa</i> ' has to be taken in the sense of 'expired', for May 6, Thursday, was Iḍa- vam 8.
57	Kollam 878, Iḍavam 16, Saturday, Hastā, śu. ēkādaśī: = A. D. 1703, Saturday, May 15; f.d.t. .09; .76. Here also May 15, Saturday, was Iḍavam 17.
61	Kollam 240 (?), Mīna 12, Wednesday, Makayiram, pañchamī. These details are wrong for Kollam 240, which is evidently a mis- take.
73	Kollam 343, Jupiter in Makaram, Mēḍam 12, Thursday, Uttiram, trayō- daśī: = A. D. 1168, Thursday, April 4; but the <i>tithi</i> and <i>nakshatra</i> were respectively ba. 10 .90; and 23.63.
86	Kollam 864, Mārgaḷi 20, Wednesday, Makayiram, śu. 13: = A. D. 1688, Wednesday, December 19, but the <i>tithi</i> and <i>naksha- tra</i> were in 7.44 and U. Bhad. 65; but on A. D. 1688, Monday, December 24, the <i>tithi</i> was śu. 13.88 and nak. Mrig. commenced from .33 of day.

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3965

Part II.

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No. 27—Keralapuram Inscriptions.

Keralapuram, which is mentioned in inscriptions as a suburb of Muttaḷak-kuruchchi, a village of Paralkōṭṭu-dēsam in Śeṅgaḷunīr-vaḷanāḍu which was itself a sub-division of Tennāḍu, is a hamlet near Padmanābhapuram. It contains a Śiva temple, whose earliest record engraved on its south-west base is dated in Kollam 491 (= A. D. 1317) in the reign of Vīra-Udaiyamārttāṇḍavarman and has already been published. As the god of the temple has been called Vīrakēra-ḷēśvarttu-Mahādēva in this inscription and as the village also bore the name of Vīrakēraḷapuram *alias* Muttaḷaikkuṛuchchi, the temple and the village may be presumed to have come into existence during the reign of a king Vīrakēraḷavarman who must have reigned prior to the beginning of the 14th century; *i. e.*, in all probability, either of the two Vēnāḍu kings of that name figuring in the Chōḷa-puram epigraph of Kollam 302 and the Tiruvallam record of Kollam 399.

When this temple subsequently got into disrepair after the lapse of more than three or four centuries, it was renovated in Kollam 782 (= A. D. 1607) by Vīra Ravi-Ravivarman *alias* Śrī Kulāśekhara who constructed its *nālambalum*, kitchen and *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* in stone, and finished off in brick the *vimāna* of its central shrine. The same fact is also alluded to in the Aṟṟūr plate of Kollam 821. This Vīra Ravi-Ravivarman (Kēṭṭai-tirunāl) is known from his Tiruvattāṟu inscriptions to have been the son of Umayammai-Rāṇi, to have belonged to the Tiruppāppūr-svarūpan and the Kīlappērur-illam and had reigned at least between the years Kollam 776 and 782; while the *State Manual* gives him, on the authority of the temple chronicles, a reign of nearly 11 years from Kollam 771 to 782.

The subjoined inscriptions engraved on several pillars of the temple are all dated in the 6th day of the month of Chittirai of Kollam 782, when the consecration ceremony of the renovated temple was performed, and when these pillars, some of them sculptured *uruttūn* and others of the variety called *chitra-kaṇḍam* were contributed as votive gifts by several private individuals connected with the temple. From the fact that the *śurru-maṇḍapa* and the *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* are stated to have been constructed by the king himself, according perhaps to some definite plan, it looks as if the private donors, who wanted to participate in the meritorious work of the temple's renovation, paid for these pillars after their erection and had their own donative labels incised thereon.

These pillars are described as belonging to the *chitra-kaṇḍam* variety and as some images are also sculptured on their faces, they are further classified as *chitra-kaṇḍam-uruttūn*. This type which is very common in temples is formed, as its name implies, by the combination of two or three styles, the present variety consisting of three cubical portions connected together by intermediate shafts octagonal in section, which are further variegated with floral or plain band ornamentation. The square faces of the cubes at the middle and extremities bear on them representations of men and animals, conventional floral work and geometrical patterns.

The four pillars of the *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* at its south-west, north-west, north-east and south-east corners are well sculptured in the style of the 17th century so familiar in the neighbouring districts of Madura and Tinnevely, and

represent, in order, the images respectively of Kulaśekhara-Perumāḷ, Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ together with Sundaramūrti, Lakshmaṇa and Rāma; but it is deplorable that all the figures are mutilated owing to wanton neglect and ill-usage. The introduction of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa in a Śiva temple is not so uncommon as it may appear at first sight, as these complementary images were popular in this period and are found in many of the Tinnevely temples erected during the Madura Nāyakas' rule. The other two pillars bearing the representations of the two Chēra kings Kulaśekhara and Chēramāṇ are however peculiar, and may have been fashioned at the original suggestion of king Ravivarman himself, who perhaps desired to perpetuate the memory of the two canonised Saints of his own regal line; for otherwise, it cannot be explained why the donors of these pillars, a brace of temple dancing girls and a temple-accountant, should have particularly chosen these rare representations to adorn their votive pairs. Kulaśekhara, the staunch Vaiṣṇava devotee whose hymns are brimful of his fervid faith in the one god Viṣṇu, must have deprecated the Travancore king's patriotism which stationed him in front of a Śaiva shrine.

The *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* is the square hall just in front of the sanctum in Śiva temples, in which is installed an image of the *Rishabha* or buli, the vehicle of that god. The Sanskrit word *Rishabha* is transformed into *iḷapa* and *iḷhapa* in these inscriptions, by the common substitution of *la* for *sha* as in *śēḷam* for *śēṣham* etc., while the initial vowel *i* which is introduced in the Tamil rendering of Sanskrit words beginning with *ri*, ought to have given the equivalent *irushabha*. *Maṇḍapa* has assumed the vulgar form of *maṇḍaka* and *iśāna* which can reasonably change into *īyāna* as *dēyam* from *dēṣam*, has here become *īyānta*.

Inscription A records that on the 6th day of the month of Chittirai in the Kollam year 782, the pillar bearing the image of Kulaśekhara-Perumāḷ was set up in the south-western corner (*kanni-mūlai*) of the *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* by two women Nilammaikutṭi, daughter of Mādammai and Mādammai, daughter of Ichchakutṭi, who belonged to the *mūttakūḍi* of dancing girls attached to the temple of Mahādeva at this village of Kēralapuram; while the other inscription states that the temple-accountant, Ayyappaṇ-Ayyappaṇ of Parakōḍu-dēṣam erected on the same day the pillar of Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ and Sundarapperumāḷ at the north-western corner of the same *maṇḍapa*. The other two pillars of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa were similarly the gifts respectively of this accountant's wife Śenbagamāt-tāṇḍakutṭi, daughter of Nallānpillaipeṇṇal of the Suchindrum temple, and Nāch-chiyār of Vilavūr-dēṣam, made on the same day.

A¹

On the west base of the Rishabha-maṇḍapa.

- 1 மீனத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற கொல்லம் எராஅய உரு சித்திரை மீ கூஉ
- 2 நயினார் முத்தளைக்குறிச்சியில் ஸ்ரீவிரகொளெச்சொரத்து² மா-
- 3 தெவர் கொடியில் இழ்சபமண்டகத்தில் வடமெழைமூலையில்
- 4 செர(ம்)மான்³ பெருமானும் சுந்தரப்பெருமானும்

1 This is registered as No. 54 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

2 Read ஸ்ரீவிரகொளெச்சொரத்து.

3 Expressed by a symbol ஞ.

- 5 உருத்தூண் செய்விச்ச ஷெ மாதெவர்கொயிலில் தானக்கணக்கு-
6 டைய¹ திருமுகமெழுத்து பாக்கொட்டு தெசத்து கணக்கு² அய்யன்³ அய்யன் சதாசெவை [11*]

B³

On the same base.

- 1 ளா அபுஉ ஹு சித்திரை கூஉ நயினூர் கொ(ர)ளபுரத்து
2 மாதெவர் கொயிலில் இழபமண்டகத்தில் கன்-
3 னிழலையில் குலசெகரப்பெருமாள்⁵ உருத்தூண் செய்-
4 வித்த மாதெவர் கொயிலில் முறையில் மூத்த-
5 குடியில் மாதம்மை மகள் நீலம்மைகுட்டியு-
6 ம் ஈச்சகுட்டி மகள் மாதம்மயும் சதாசெவை [11*]

C¹⁰

On the east base of the same mandapa.

- 1 ளா அபுஉ ஹு சித்திரை மீர் கூஉ கொளபுரத்து இஷபமண்டகத்தில்
2 ஈயாந்த⁴ மூலையில் இளையபெருமாள்⁴ உருத்தூண்⁶ ஷெ கொயிலில் தான-
3 க்கணக்கு⁷ அய்யப்பன்¹ அய்யப்பன் பெண்சாதி⁸ சூசுந்திரமுடைய நயி-
4 னூர்
5 கொயிலில் சிறப்பு⁹ யக ல் நல்லாம்பிள்ளைப்பெற்றாள்
6 மகள் செம்பகமரத்தாண்டக்குட்டி¹ செய்விச்சது ச(ர)தாசெவை ஹரி
[11*]

D¹¹

On the same base.

- 1 மீனத்தில் கியாழம் நின்ற கொல்லம் ளா அய்யு ஹு
2 சித்திரை மீர் கூஉ நயினூர் கொளபுரத்து மாதெவர்
3 கொயிலில் இழபமண்டகத்தில் தென்கிழக்கு மூ-
4 லையில் சிராமன் உருத்தூண் செய்வித்த விலலூர்
5 தெசத்து வித்திருந்த நாச்சியார் மகள் நாச்சியார் சதாசெவை ஹரி [11*]

1 Expressed by a symbol ஷெ.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 This is registered as No. 55 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

4 It ought to be ஈசான.

5 Expressed by a symbol ஹு.

6 „ உரு.

7 „ க்கு.

8 Read சூசுந்திரமுடைய.

9 The name சிறப்பு யகல் means 'out of the eleven dancing girls who belonged to the 'ornamental' adjunct of the temple i.e., for dancing and singing, as opposed the other class of maid-servants who attended to the temple's menial service.

10 This is registered as No. 56 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

11 „ No. 58 of the same collection.

No. 28.—Cheraman-Perumal.

It will be of interest to give here a short account of the life of the royal-saint Chēramāṇ-Perumāl, because of his connection with the ancient Chēra house, and as king Rāmavarman of Travancore (1758-98) mentions him as an ancestor of his dynasty¹. The main incidents of the saint-king's biography have been succinctly summarised in a single verse² by Umāpatiśivāchārya in his *Tiruttondar-purāṇasāram*. The story as given in the *Periyapurāṇam* is as follows:—

With his capital at the seaport town of Koḍuṅgōlūr called also Mahōdai, whose ramparts were the high mountain ranges and whose moat was the deep sea, there reigned a powerful king named Śeṅgōrporaiyaṇ, the overlord of Malai-nāḍu. In a branch of this illustrious family was born prince Perumakkōdaiyār also called by the significant title of Kalarirarivār³ (one who understood the speech of all living beings), a pious devotee of Śiva, who had kept himself unsoiled by the dissipations of a royal court and had dedicated his life to the service of the god at Tiruvaṇjaikkalam in tending the temple flower-gardens and in supplying garlands for the god's daily worship⁴. But when Śeṅgōrporaiyaṇ abdicated at the end of a long reign and retired to an anchorite's life, this prince was selected by the ministers to succeed to the throne and was prevailed upon with great difficulty to don the royal purple after he had obtained divine sanction for his acceptance of the exalted office.

He was of such a pious disposition that when, on his preliminary royal entry into the capital, he came across a washerman whose body was whitened with Fuller's earth (*uvarman*), he made obeisance to the man in the thought that he was a Śaiva *bhakta* smeared with the holy ashes and that his appearance was a timely reminder to himself from on high to persevere in his pious life. On another occasion, it is said that Śiva sent a poet-musician called Bāṇabhadra from Madura with a letter of introduction⁵ to him that the bearer should be patronised and well-rewarded with riches and that the king, who was immensely pleased with the high honor that this Divine commission implied, even went to the length of offering his whole kingdom to the god's protegee. His devotion towards god Naṭarāja of Chidambaram grew in intensity and the great Dancer used to reward his piety by enabling him to

1 यद्वंशचरनृपतिर्मधुरापुरीशपत्रार्पणेन कनकं प्रददावसङ्ख्यम् ।

तनुनवायकुलभक्तजनाय भूयात् स श्रेयसे निखिलराजकुलप्रदीपः ॥

Balarāmabharatam, (T. A. S. Vol. IV, p. 109).

2 காவலர்ம கோதையார் கொடுங்கோளுர்க்கோக் கழறியவை யறிந்தகோச் சிலம்போரைக்கருத்தார் நாவலர்கோ ண்பரடிச் சேரனென்றே நவின்னுறும் வண்ணனை நயந்தகோநற் பாவலர்கோப் பாணபத் திரஞல்வாய்ந்த பரமந்திரு முகம்வாங்கிப் பணிகோவெற்பின் மேவியகோ வாணக்குக் குதிரைவைத்த வீரர்கோ வெனையானுஞ் சேரர்கோவே.

Tiruttondar-purāṇa-sāram, v. 42.

3 இனத்தன கொடுக்கவல்லா னிலத்தயிர் கழறுஞ் சொற்க ணனத்தையு மறிந்திரங்கு மன்புடைச் சேரமான்காண்.—*Tiruvāḍiyār-purāṇam*.

4 சிலமிகுமலை நாடுவாழ் கொடுங்கோளார், சிறந்த செங்கோற் கோதையார் செல்வர் திருவஞ் சையிறை மெல்லடி பணிந்திட, செய்யபொறை யன்றவ முற.—*Tiruttondar-gatakum*.

5 This verse beginning with 'மதிமலிபுரிசை' is the first piece in the *Padiṇṇāntirumurai*.

hear the tinkling rhythm of his golden anklets (*porṣilambu*) at the end of his daily *pūjā*¹. Failing, however, to hear this accustomed token on a particular day, the king was very much disheartened and would have stabbed himself to death, if Natarāja had not intervened in time to save His votary from an unnatural end. He then learnt that the beautiful hymns sung by the arch-devotee Sundaramūrti in the temple at Chidambaram were so enthralling as to make the god forget his accustomed token to the Chēra king. This incident was a turning point in the life of Chēramān and thenceforward his ardour grew, if anything, more fervid and he was filled with a longing to visit not only Chidambaram the abode of his favourite deity, but also pay homage to the great soul whose songs had kept Śiva spell-bound.

Accordingly he set out from his capital and after passing through the Koṅgu-nāḍu, through which lay in those days one of the highways between the eastern districts and Mukai-maṇḍalam, finally reached Chidambaram, where the divine vision which was vouchsafed him evoked a fitting response in the poem named the *Ponvannattandādi*². He then proceeded to Tiruvārūr, the headquarters of Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār, and formed with him a memorable friendship which, while earning for the latter the sobriquet of 'Chēramānṛōḷan', continued unabated in its sincerity till the simultaneous and mysterious exit of both of them from Tiruvaṇjaikkaḷam. After having composed the *Tirumummaṇikkōvai*³ in honour of god Vahnīkanātha during his short stay at Tiruvārūr, the Chēra king then accompanied Sundara on an extensive tour of pilgrimage to many holy temples of Śiva in the Chōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms, among which are mentioned: Kīlvēḷūr, Nāgaikkārōṇam, Tirumanaikkāḍu (Vēḍaranyam), Paḷaṇam, Agastyaṇ-palli, Kuḷagar-Koḍikkōyil, Tiruppattūr, Madurai, Tiruppūvaṇam, Tiruvāppaṇūr, Tiruvēḍagam, Tirupparaṅgunṇam, Kurrālan, Kuṇumbalā, Tirunelveli, Rāmeśvaram, Tiruchchuliyal, Kānappēr, Tiruppuṇavāyil, Pātaleśvaram, Tirukkandiyūr and Tiruvaḷiyāru. Both the friends then cut across the Koṅgudēsam and reached Koḍuṅgōḷūr, where Chēramān entertained Sundara with such pomp and respect as was befitting to the renowned boy-saint.

After a short congenial stay at the Chēra capital, Sundara finally took leave of his royal friend and reached Tiruvārūr loaded with many costly presents and jewels, after undergoing a miraculous adventure with banditti *en route* at Tirumuruganpūṇḍi in the Coimbatore District. Some time later, Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār paid a second visit to his Chēra friend, after augmenting his fame on the way by the performance of a miracle of the resurrection of a brahman boy at Tiruppuḷkōḷiyūr (Coimbatore District), and was received with huge ovations by the people of Tiruvaṇjaikkaḷam and their king. While Sundaramūrti was thus staying in the Chēra capital, god Śiva, it is stated, sent a white elephant to fetch³ the

1

—கம்பற்கு

காற்சிலம்பின் சந்தனின்னு எண்ணியணிந்து தினங்
காற்சிலம்பு கேட்ட இருக்காதோலும்.

—Tiruvārūr-ulā.

2

This is collected in the *Padinōṇṇitirumurai*.

3

கனையாவுடலோடு சேரமானாரை
யினையாமதமாறு வெள்ளானமேல் கொள்ள.

—Kōyil-Tiruvēḷaiṇṇai, v. 4.

saint back to his original abode Kailāsa, and in obedience to that holy mandate he prepared to start heavenwards; but before setting out, his commiserating thoughts strayed for a moment towards his royal comrade whom he had to leave behind. Chēramāṇ-Perumāl, who was taking his bath at his palace at that time, vaulted on a horse and rushing to the spot where the elephant was marching with its precious burden, respectfully circumambulated his friend and after muttering the mystic formula of the *pañchākshara* into the horse's ear, rose into the air leading the way in front to Mount Kailāsa. The loyal servants of the Chēra king, who had witnessed their master mounting heavenwards, waited till he was lost to sight and despairing of his return killed themselves by falling on their upright swords, like the true warriors that they were. On reaching the Silver Mountain, Chēramāṇ-Perumāl gained audience of Śiva through the recommendation of his friend and sang on that occasion the poem called the *Tirukkailāyaṇāna-ulā*¹ (called also the *Ādi-ulā*), which received the god's imprimatur. This poem is said to have been transmitted to this world by a certain Māsattanār² who had heard it chanted on the slopes of Kailāsa, while the publicity given to the songs that Sundara hymned forth on his way to the Holy Mount is attributed to Varuṇa, the lord of the oceans.

Perumilalai-Kuṟumbar, one of the sixty-three devotees, also killed himself in his own place in order to join Sundara on Kailāsa. Auvai, who is said to have been the sister of Chēramāṇ-Perumāl also reached Kailāsa on this occasion.

Now as regards the period when Chēramāṇ-Perumāl flourished, its determination is confronted with the usual difficulties attendant on similar questions, namely, that the available materials are so superimposed with much that is purely traditional and supernatural that there is no safe historical foundation to proceed upon. The sources from which such information can be collated may be classified as follows:—

- (i) tradition current in Malabar regarding this king, as recorded in the *Kēraḷōlpatti*;
- (ii) the biographical sketches of this king and of Sundaramūrti, Viṇamindar, Kōṭpuliār, Māṇakkañjārar, Ēyarkōṇ-Kalikkāmaṇār, Perumilalai-Kuṟumbar, and Sōmāsiyar, who were his contemporaries according to the *Periyapurāṇam*;
- (iii) the *Tiruvilaiyādarapurāṇam* of Parañjōtiyār, which mentions the deputation of the lutist Bāṇabhadra to this Chēra's court as the 55th of the sixty-four divine sports of god Sundarēśa of Madura; and
- (iv) other miscellaneous references.

(i) *The Kēraḷōlpatti*, a Malayalam work of no great antiquity or authenticity purporting to be a historical chronicle of the early Kēraḷa kings, places the end of the Chēramāṇ rule in the 5th century (A. D. 428) and relates of a certain Bāṇaperumāl, one of them, that he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca on conversion to an

1 This finds a place in the 11th *Tirumuraḷi*.

2 *Purāṇāṇṇu*, see footnote on p. 529.

alien creed. Mr. Logan linking this information with the alleged discovery of a tomb-stone dated 826 A. D. supposed to record the death at Sahar-Mukhal of a certain Hindu royal convert named Abdul-Rahiman-Sāmūri on his return journey to his native land, has tried to trace the origin of the Kollam era to this hypothetical conversion¹. Now that the institution of the era is however attributed² to the foundation of the maritime city of Kollam at about this time and that the truth about the existence and purport of the Arabian epitaph is discredited for want of definite testimony, the tradition of a Chēramāṇ's conversion to Muhammadanism has, by scholars, been dismissed as groundless. It is not impossible that the disappearance of a Chēra king, miraculously or otherwise, the actual conversion of a Zamorin of Calicut to Muhammadanism as stated by the historian Ferishta and the extensions and improvements to the seaport of Quilon at the instance of Sapir Īso and his thriving co-religionists, which may have all taken place within a few decades of each other were commingled in a haphard fashion when the chronicle was patched up a few centuries ago. That the date given for the Chēramāṇ in the chronicle is not trustworthy has been accepted by all, and no reliance need be placed on the account which terminates the Chēramāṇ rule in the first half of the 5th century A. D.

(ii) From the *Periyapurāṇam*, it is learnt that the Śiva temple at Tirukkaṇḍiyūr, one of the *Ashtavīratāṇams* and *Saptasthānams*, a mile to the south of Tiruvaīyāru in the Tanjore District, was visited by Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ in company with Sundaramūrti and that it was only in its vicinity that, at the command of god Pañchanāḍēśvara, the river Kāvērī parted its swollen waters so as to leave a dry ford for the two devotees to walk across with ease³. It is therefore highly probable that the Śiva temple at Tirukkaṇḍiyūr in the Cheṅgaṇṇūr taluk of the Travancore State, which is considered to be one of the oldest in Kēraḷa and to have been constructed by Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ⁴ himself, was perhaps consecrated by him as a remembrancer of this episode; and as we know from epigraphical sources⁵ that it came into existence in A. D. 823 two years before the starting of the Kollam era and had to be renovated in Kollam 392, Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ, its reputed author, may also be assigned to the beginning of the 9th century A. D.

The *Periyapurāṇam* which has been considered on all hands to be a quasi-historical compilation, denuded of the few supernatural incidents that may not be acceptable in a hyper-critical sense, does not supply in the lives of Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ or of his Nāyaṇmār contemporaries any clues that could help in the determination of their age with certainty. We only know that, on the abdication of a Chēra king named Śēṅgōrporaiyaṇ who was ruling at Koḍuṅgōḷūr, the next in succession Perumākkōdaiyār, the Śaiva devotee, ascended the throne. But unfortunately the names Śēṅgōrporaiyaṇ (the just Chēra) and Perumākkōdaiyār (the great Chēra) sound more like titles than individual appellations, *Poraiyaṇ* and

1 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 225 *et seq.*

2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 76.

3 *Chēramāṇ-Perumāṇāyaṇār-purāṇam*, vv. 130-9.

4 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. III, p. 508.

5 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 290.

Kōdai being but synonymous with *Chēra*; but although it may be hazardous to assert that they do not represent the distinctive names of two *Chēra* kings, they are however a pair of designations too vague to yield any historical landmark. The *Chōla* and *Pāṇḍya* contemporaries of *Chēramāṇ* are also referred to by their dynastic titles of *Valavaṇ* and *Tēṇṇavaṇ*, which are absolutely useless for purposes of definite identification. The life-sketches of the *Nāyaṇmār* contemporaries of this king are also similarly barren of information, except that *Sundara* is mentioned to have been the *protege* of a certain *Narasīṅgamuṇaiyaraiaṇ*, the chief of *Milāḍu*, who had his headquarters at *Tirukkōyilūr* in the South Arcot District, and *Sundara* himself refers to a weak *Pallava* king of that period to whom his vassals stopped the payment of tribute. From the *Tirunāvalūr* and *Tirukkōyilūr* inscriptions a few generations of *Milāḍu* chiefs with names *Narasimha* and *Rāma* are understood to have ruled in the years A. D. 954, 957, 1059 and 1149, and it is just vaguely possible that a *Narasīṅgamuṇaiyaraiaṇ* may have lived in the beginning of the 9th century A. D., as *Sundara*'s patron.² The reference to the *Pallava* also points to a period when their power was at a low ebb, and this fits in well with the reign of *Dantivarman* (780-830) in whose later years *Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam* was invaded from the north by *Gōvinda III* (804) and on the south by the *Pāṇḍya*, *Varaguṇa Mahārāja*³ (825).

(iii) The *Tiruvilaiyāḍal-purāṇam* of *Paraṇjōtiyār* which professes to give a chronological narration of the sixty-four divine sports of god *Chokkanātha* of *Madura* places in the reign of a *Pāṇḍya* king named *Varaguṇa*, the following two episodes which constitute the 54th (*Viṇagu-viṇṇa-paḍalam*) and 55th (*Tirumuḡam-koḍutta-paḍalam*) divine sports of that book, namely, the discomfiture *Ēmanātha* the northern lute-player on behalf of the local bard *Bhadra*, and the latter's deputation to a *Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ* of *Koduṇḡōḷūr* with a poem-inscribed cadjan order for presents. Although the scheme of chronology adopted by *Paraṇjōtiyār* is a medley of tradition, myth and royal names, it may however be examined, all other things apart, whether the location of *Bhadra* in the reign of a *Pāṇḍya* king who has the name of *Varaguṇa* is consistent with the above suppositions relating to *Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ* and *Sundara*. We know from reliable sources that *Varaguṇa-Mahārāja*, the grandson of *Jaṭila-Parāntaka* (770 A. D.) and himself the grandfather of *Varaguṇavarman* who ascended the throne in A. D. 862 must have been reigning in the beginning of the 9th century; and as it is also known that this *Pāṇḍya* sovereign was a devout *Śaiva* (*bhakta*), there is nothing improbable in linking together the above traditional accounts and in assuming *Chēramāṇ* to have been this *Pāṇḍya*'s contemporary and to have lived in the first quarter of the 9th century A. D. The *Bāṇa-Bhadra* episode is also referred to in the *Kallāḍam*; but

1 There have been kings with these names—

Kuṭṭuvaṇ-Kōdai, *Makkodai*, *Irumboṇai*, (*Purāṇāṇṇūru*) and *Kannaṇ-Poraiyaṇ* (*T. A. S. Vol. III*).

2 *Sendamiḷ*, Vol. III, p. 320.

3 *The Pallavas*, p. 76.

4 மன்றலந் தெரியன் மார்பன் வரகுணன் செங்கோலோச்சி

பொன்றலங் காவலான்றிப் பொலியு நானேமநாதன் — *Viṇaguviṇṇa-paḍalam*.

மன்னர்தம்பிரானுகிய வரகுணதேவன்

தன்னே வந்தடிபணிந்தன்னுந் தந்திரிக்குழுவோன். — *ibid*, v. 58.

as its author Kallāḍaṇār¹ is, on other grounds,² considered to have been a later poet different from his namesake of the last Academy;—this mention need not necessarily militate against the assignment of Chēramāṇ to the beginning of the 9th century.

(iv) The tradition stating that one of the offspring of the couple Bhagavan and Ādi, who was brought up by the Adigaṇ³ and who was eventually raised to the Chēra throne was the Chēramāṇ-Perumāl of the *Periyapurāṇam* is not supported by any evidence except that of a verse⁴ popularly attributed to Auvaiyār, which she is said to have addressed in derision to the Chēra king, when god Vināyaka, pleased with her devotion, had raised her to heaven with his proboscis, sometime before the mounted pair Sundaramūrti and Chēramāṇ could arrive at the Kailāsa gates. This is another instance wherein different episodes are mixed up together promiscuously.

(v) In his learned article on the age of Jñānasambandha, Prof. Sundaram Pillai finds an implied reference to certain Śaiva Nāyaṇmārs in the minor *stōtras* of Śaṅkara, and if the *Śivabhujanya*, *Sivānandalahārī* and *Sarvadaryalahārī* are the *indisputable* compositions of the author of the great *Bhāṣyas*, then the passing reference in the stanza of the *Śivabhujāṅga*⁵ may be taken to contain a covert sneer at Sundara's matrimonial foibles, which however veneered over by some mythical varnish was considered too big a blemish to be winked at by Īyerkōṇ-Kālik-kāmaṇḍayāṇār, who would rather die of his colic rather than submit to be cured by Sundara. The date of Śaṅkara has been accepted by many scholars to be the beginning of the 9th century (788 to 820 A. D.); and in that case, it is also possible that the Sundara's Tiruvorriyūr episode may have reached his ears.

Thus all the available data tend towards the ascription of Chēramāṇ-Perumāl-Nāyaṇār to the beginning of the 9th century A. D., and the temptation now offers itself to consider whether this royal saint of the Tamil hagiology can be the same as the Chēra king Rājāsēkhara⁶ of the Talamana-illam copper-plate record. In support of that possible identification these points may be noted.

1 பாபுரன் என்பலை விழுவி விழுந்து மும், குடங்கோச்சேரன் கிடைத்திதுகாண்டென, மதிமலிபுரிசைத் தி
முழுசங்குறி, யன்புருத்தறித்த வின்பிசைப்பாணன், பெறநிகொடுக்கென வழவிடுத்தருளிய, மா
தவர் வழித்துங் கூடந் கிறைவன் *Kallidam*, v. 11. 11. 25-30

2 *Sendamil*, Vol. XV. p. 107-14.

3 அரும்பார் சோலை அரும்பார் வஞ்சி, அங்கணில்விடை அகிகமான் வளர்ந்தான் — *Kupilar-āṇḍal*.
but this Kupilar is believed to be a more modern namesake of the poet of the Last Academy.

4 மதுமொழிவினாநாயார் கிறுவன் மலரடியை
முதிரியேயவல்லார்க்கரிதோ முகில் போன் முழங்கி
சகிரவருகின்ற பாணையுந் தேருமதன் பின்வருங்
குறையுங் காதங் கிழவியுந் காதங் குலமன்னனே—

5 न शक्रोमि कर्तुं परद्रोहलेशं कथं प्रीयसे त्वं न जाने गिरीश ।

तदा हि प्रसन्नोऽसि कस्यापि कान्तासुतद्रोहो वा पितृद्रोहिणो वा ॥ *Śivabhujāṅgam*, v.

In *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI, p. 109, the Prof. finds fault with Mr. V. Venkayya's identification of कान्ताद्रोहि with Sundara and says that Īyarpagai-Nāyaṇār was intended.

6 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 13.

In the Tiruvalla copper-plate record of the beginning of the 11th century(?) the king has been mentioned as *Ṣennittalaiadigaḷ Rājaśekharaṇ*,¹ which carries with it the additional significance of his devotion to god Śiva at *Ṣennittalai*, containing an early phallic emblem of the *liṅga*.²

Further, the king begins his Talamana-illam record with the words '*Namaś-śivāya*' in place of the almost universal '*Svasti-śrī*', and although this formula has been met with elsewhere in a few instances, it is nevertheless rare and may be considered to be significant of the special devotion of the king to god Śiva.

The palæography of the plate also points to about the beginning of the 9th century as its age and this was the period in which Sundaramūrtti-Nāyaṇār and his friend Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ are considered to have flourished. As it is quite possible that Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ was a dynastic title meaning 'the Chēra king', king Rājaśekhara may have been known in the Tamil Districts exclusively by that title in the same way as the slightly later Chēra kings Sthāṇu-Ravi and Vijarāga-dēva were known in the records of those districts as *Chēramāṇ Kōttāṇu-Ravi* and *Chēramāṇ Vijayarāga-dēva*.

There is again the tradition recorded in the *Ṣaṅkaraviyaya* that a Kēraḷa king called Rājaśekhara was a contemporary of the great Śaṅkara, to whom he showed three dramas of his own composition. This incident is found in an amplified form in the *Jagadyururatnamālāstava* of Sadāśivabrahmendra of the 16th century, and its commentator has further supplemented the information by saying that the three and a *saṭṭaka* which Rājaśekhara showed to Śaṅkara were *Bālarā-māyaṇa*, *Viddhaśālabaṇjika*, *Prachandapāṇḍava* and *Karpūramaṇjarī*. As these works are known to be the works of a northern poet called Rājaśekhara who flourished in the court of Mahēndrapāla of the middle of the 10th century and who could not have been Śaṅkara's contemporary, the author of the *Stava* was perhaps confused by the similarity of names into the identification of a Kēraḷa king Rājaśekhara with the northern poet of a later date. This leaves the *Ṣaṅkaraviyaya* statement that a Kēraḷa king was the author of three dramas still unexplained, and it is not known if *Mādhavāchārya*,³ was himself misled by the identity in the names of the two different individuals.

Mr. S. Paramesvara Ayyar M. A., B. L., has, in a learned article in Malayalam⁴ attempted to solve the difficulty by supposing that Rājaśekhara may be a title of the Chēra king Kulaśekhara-varman, the accredited author of the two dramas *Ta-pātisamvaranam* and *Subhadrādhanaṇjayam* and of a hypothetical third called *Vicchhinnābhishēka*. Against this it may be said that the name of the Kēraḷa king of the Tiruvalla copper-plate cannot have been a title like Rājakēsarivarman or Mājavarman of the Tamil records, because of the specific mention of him as Rājarāja-Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭāraka-Rājaśekhara-dēva, the first three being his titles and the last word his distinctive name. The word *Namaśśivāya* prefacing his record is also against his being identified with Kulaśekhara, the author of the

1 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 178.

2 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, p. 69.

3 Extracted on page 10 of the *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II.

4 *Bhāṣapōshini* for 1917.

Mukundamālā and the *Tirumōḻi*, which are saturated with a deep and almost exclusive devotion for Viṣṇu.

Thus it may be tentatively assumed that Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ was identical with Rājāsēkharadēva of the copper-plate record and that he lived in the first quarter of the 9th century, until other convincing arguments proving the contrary are forthcoming.

In this connection it may be stated that Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ has elsewhere been identified with Bāṇa-Perumāḷ¹ (4th century A. D.), the fifth viceroy of the Perumāḷ line according to the *Kēraḷōlpatti*, on the strength of a possible reference to him in the 8th verse of the *Tirumōḍittāṇmalai-paḍigam* of Sundaramūrti:

வரமலிவானன் வந்து வழிதந்தெனக்கேறுவதே தார்
சுரமலிபாணை தந்தாடுனாடித்தான் மலையுத்தமனே—(v. 8);

which has been interpreted to express the grateful recognition on the part of Sundara of the gift of an elephant made to him by the Chēra king. According to tradition, this *paḍigam* was sung by Sundara on the eve of his departure to Kailāsa on the celestial white elephant that had been sent to fetch him up; and even if this mythological colouring is ignored, there is unmistakable evidence throughout all the verses of the poem in each individual stanza of which the gift of an elephant is dutifully acknowledged, to indicate that Sundara refers to god Śiva himself as the donor and not to any mortal, king and friend though he may be. The expressions of humility and devotion used in the verse can more fitly be considered to have been addressed to god rather than be applied to the Chēra king who stood in the relation of a disciple to Sundara. These instances are the following:—

நாயினேனைப்பொருட் படுத்துவான், ஊனுயிர்வேறுசெய்தான் (v. 1)
தொண்டனனை, பந்தரமால் விசம்பிலழகானையருள் புரிந்த (v. 3)
வானநன்னாடர் முன்னை, தஞ்சதன் மாற்றுவித்துத் தொண்டனைப் பரமல்ல-
தொரு, தொஞ்சினவானை தந்தான் நொடித்தான் மலையுத்தமனே (v. 6)
இந்தியன் மாலபிரமன்னெழிலார் மிகுதேவரெல்லாம்,
அந்தெதிர்கொள்ளவென்னை மத்தயானை யருள்புரிந்து (v. 9)

Vāṇaṇ though it may be an alternative form of Bāṇaṇ is also a contraction of the word *vāḷṇaṇ* signifying 'one who dwells', and *varamalivāṇaṇ* which has been taken as the 'Bāṇa(-perumāḷ)' of great gifts' may equally appropriately refer to god 'the bestower of bounteous gifts'. It is no doubt true that Chēra kings were proverbially lavish in their munificence and that many poems have extolled their gifts of elephants to poets and other suppliants; but the *paḍigam* under reference does not appear to immortalise a mere mortal's gift.

The incidents which Sundara is supposed to have recorded in these verses have given rise to the story that Sundara ascended to heaven with his mortal body

1. Against this identification of this Śaiva saint with Bāṇapperumāḷ of the 4th century A. D. it may be stated that the reference to Tiruvalluvar contained in the *Tirukkailāya-jñāna-vāḷa* as *paṇḍaiyār* seems to point to the conclusion that its author may have flourished many centuries after the ancient poet of the 1st century A. D.

(a) கண்டு கேட்டுண்டுயிர்த்துற்றியுமைம்புலனு
மொண்டொழுகண்ணையுளவென்று—பண்டையோர்கட்டுரைபை.

(b) இல்லாரை யெல்லாருமென்குவார் செல்வரை
யெல்லாருஞ் செய்வார் சிறப்பென்னுஞ்—சொல்லாலே.

and that he directed god Varuṇa whom he has addressed as ‘ஆழிகடலரையாவஞ்சைப்பார்க்கறிவிப்பதே’ in the last line of the poem to publish this *padigam* to the terrestrial world. From the reference made to god Añjaikkalattappar in the last verse and from the description of Nodittāṇmalai in verse 7 that the god of that hill was worshipped by the lord of the sea with his flower-like waves—

ஆழிகடலாலரையனலர் கொண்டுமுன் வந்திறைஞ்சும்
உலையணையா தவண்ணநொடித்தான்மலையுத்தமனே—(v. 7)

one is tempted to locate Nodittāṇmalai (the hill of Hara) in the vicinity of Añjaikkalam and not equate it with the Kailāsa hill in the midst of the Himalayas. ‘ஆழிகடலரையா’ may have been used as an epithet of Añjaikkalam that has elsewhere been described as splashed by the sea-waves, or, if an apostrophe, may it not refer to a chieftain of the coast (*kaḍal + araiya*)? Kailāsanatha’s temples are very common in many places and the hill Nodittāṇmalai, wherever it was, must have borne on its summit one such shrine dedicated to Śiva. It is likely that Sundara who may have gone up to worship that god was followed soon after by his royal host, that they both composed respectively on this occasion the songs *Tirunodittāṇmalai-padigam* and *Tirukkailāyājñāna-ulā* and that some mysterious causes, having led to their sudden disappearance from the land of the living, their accredited piety may have then attracted towards their glorification the supernatural version of a celestial journey to Mount Kailāsa with their mortal bodies.

The introductory portion of the *Tirukkailāyājñāna-ulā* of Chōrannāṇ is also worth noting in this connection, in regard to the description it gives of god Śiva, who was seated in the *tirukkōyil* (*śrīkōyil*=temple?) at Śivapuram². The large number of the *āgamic* terms that have been employed in the detailed enumeration of the ornaments with which Śiva was decked out, seems to suggest that the royal poet had before him an iconographic representation of Śiva, which he naturally identified with the higher divinity of the Silver-Mount. The terms that have been used are the following: *chūlamani*, *paṭṭam*, *makarakūḍala*, *kaṇḍikai*, *channarīram*, *kēyūram*, *udarabandham*, *kaṭisūtram*, *kaṇkanam*, *vāchikai*, *kīṇkīṇi*, *mēkhalā*, *kāra* and *jaṭamakuṣa* among ornaments and *jhallari*, *bhōri*, *karatāḷam*, *maḍḍala* and *duṇḍubhi* among musical instruments.

No. 29.—Kulasekhara-Perumal.

A short account of the life and times of the royal Saint Kulasekhara-Āḷvār may, with advantage, be appended here, because he was an early king of the Chēra house of Malai-maṇḍalam and the present ruling dynasty of Travancore also traces its descent from him.

- 1 Compare: சந்தித்தமால்வரைபோற்றிரைகடனியாதிடறுங்கடலங்கரைமே
லந்தித்தலைச்செக்கர்வானேயொத்தியாலனியார்பொழிலஞ்சைக்களத்தப்பனே—(v. 3).
and மழைக்கு நிகரொப்பனவன்றிரைகள் வலித்தெற்றிமுழங்கிவலம் புரிகொண்
டழைக்குங் கடலங்கரைமேன் மகோதையனியார் பொழிலஞ்சைக்களத்தப்பனே—(v. 4).
- 2 சீரார்சிவலோகந்தன்னுட் சிவபுரத்திலேரார் திருக்கோயிலுள்ளிருப்ப —*Tirukkailāyājñāna-ulā*.

It may be noted that the god at Tiruchchivaperūr (Trichur) is called Vāḍakkunnātha of the Vṛṣabhādhri Hill.

The sources from which the material for this account can be collected are the *Divyasūri-charitam*¹ of Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita (12th century), *Guruparamparā-prabhācam*² of Pimpalāgiya-Perumāḷ-Jīyar (14th century), *Upadēśaratnamālā* of Maṇavāḷmūnī (14th century), *Periya-tirumūḍi-aḍavu* of Kaṇḍāḍaiyappaṇ (14th century) and a few other later Vaiṣṇava works, which furnish certain traditional landmarks in the life of Kulaśekhara interspersed, more or less, with incidents of a supernatural character, that have 'mistletoed' on the original biographical trunk with the lapse of time.

The Saint was born according to these accounts in the royal Chēra dynasty at Vañji (Tiruvāñjaikkulam) in the 28th year of the Kali era,³ corresponding to the cyclic year Parābhava,⁴ on the Thursday of the month of Māsi, which had dvādaśi-tithi of the bright fortnight and Punarvasu-nakshatra. He was considered as an incarnation of the Śrī-Kaustubha of god Viṣṇu and as his birth in the royal family was considered to be in answer to the devout petition of the old childless king Dridhavrata, the new born prince was named Kulaśekhara, the crest jewel of his race. When the heir-apparent came of age, the old king abdicated the kingdom and retired to a quiet *vānaprasta*'s life, and the new king Kulaśekhara ascended the ancient Chera throne to the joy of his ministers and subjects whom he pleased by his wisdom and equity. His devotion to god Viṣṇu also grew apace and he often spent his time in listening to expositions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the other sacred epics and his money in giving largesses to the Vaiṣṇava devotees who mustered strong in his capital. His piety and sincerity were so great, it is said, that on one occasion when the pathetic story was being narrated as to how Ravana carried away the helpless Sīta from the sylvan hermitage, he at once issued orders to marshall out his army for the invasion of Ceylon and the punishment of the abductor⁵. The minister who felt jealous of the favours showered by the king on the Vaiṣṇava *bhaktas*, tried by some ruse to bring back the king from his pious infatuation, and with this end in view they trumped up on the devotees a false charge of the theft of some temple jewels; but the strategem did not work, as Kulaśekhara vindicated their innocence by the miracle of inserting his hand in a pot

1 Appendix to the *History of Vaiṣṇavism*, by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M. A.

2 तस्यामभूचैरकुलप्रदीपः श्रीकौस्तुभात्मा कुलशेखराख्यः ।

महीपातर्माघपुनर्वसूयदिने हरेः पूर्णकटाक्षलक्ष्यः ॥—*Divyasūricharitam*.

3 சேரன் குலசேகரராய்க்கொண்டு சுத்திரியவர்க்குத்திலே மாகிமானத்தில் புனர்பூசநகைத்ரத்தில் வந்தவதரித்தார் — *Pimpalāgiyaperumāḷ Jīyar*.

4 சூலி 28 ம் வருஷம் பராவவருஷம் மாகிய கல் துவாதசி வெள்ளிக்கிழமை கூடின புனர்வச நகைத்ரம் — *Guruparamparāprabhācam*.

4 वर्षे पराभवे मासे कुम्भे वै शुक्लपक्षके ।

श्रीमत् पुनर्वसूतारे दशम्यां गुरुवासरे ॥

कौस्तुभांशेन संजज्ञे महात्मा कुलशेखरम् ।

Prapannāmṛitam.

5 श्रीरामभक्तिरसपूर्णमनस्स्यूत श्री.

रामात्मभावसहितस्सगृहीतखड्गः ।

रामायणश्रवणरावणखण्डनेच्छु-

स्तिन्धुं विवेश कुलशेखरभूमिपो यः ॥

—*Balarāmaharata* (T. A. S. IV, p. 109).

containing a live cobra and drawing it out unscathed.¹ The royal saint then threw off the reigns of government in disgust and after anointing the prince Driḍhavrata who had been named after his grandfather, started out on a pilgrimage to the holy isle of Śrīrangam and spent there some years, serving and worshipping god Alagiyaṁaṁavāla of that temple after bestowing on him his pious daughter in marriage. This last incident is also mentioned in the *Koyilolūgu*² to the effect that after Kali year 50, Kulaśēkara, the lord of the three Tamil kingdoms of Chēra, Pāṇḍya and Chōla, married his daughter Śōlakulavallī to the god of Śrīrangam, giving away his whole wealth as dowry, and that he built the Sēṇaiven-rāṇ-maṇḍapa and repaired the *prākāra* which was thereafter called the Kulaśēkharāṇ-tiruvīdi. He then visited the holy Vaishṇava temples of Tiruvēṅgaḍam, Tiruvayōdhyā, Tillai-Chitrakūṭam, Tirukkannapuram, Tirumālirūṇjōlai and Tiruvirūvakkōḍu and finally settled down at Brahmāḍēsam near Tirukkurukūr, the sanctified birth place of Nammālvār, where he shook off his mortal coil at the advanced age of sixty-seven.

In the account extracted above from the orthodox versions of the life of the Ālvār, the chronological detail fixing the date of his birth in the beginning of the Kali era will not bear scrutiny and is, on the face of it, an absurd fib introduced by the later hagiographers to envelop their hero in a sacred halo of antiquity. The traditional limits for Kulaśēkhara's period are Nammālvār, the famous saint of Tirukkurukūr on the one hand, and Tirumangaimaṇṇan, who is considered as the last of the twelve Vaishṇava apostles on the other. Epigraphy furnishes for the later limit of the Ālvār's time two records, one dated in the 18th year of the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I³ (= A. D. 1088) which provided for the daily recital of the *Tēṭṭarundirai* (the second *Tirumōḷi*) in the Śrīrangam temple and another, somewhat earlier, belonging to the reign of the viceroy Chōla-Keraḷadēva⁴ (A. D. 1050), according to which arrangement was made for a similar recital from the Ālvār's work. Proceeding nearer, it has also been possible to arrive at a still earlier lower limit for Kulaśēkhara from a determination of the time of Tirumangai-Ālvār,⁵ who has been found according to the latest researches to have flourished as a late contemporary of the Pallava king Dantivarman (A. D. 779-830) and possibly also during a few years of the reign of his successor Nandivarman (A. D. 830-54), in consideration of the saint's traditional long life of 105 years. It follows therefore that the Chēra Saint may have lived somewhere in the first half of the 9th century if Nammālvār,⁵ his predecessor, is assigned to the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century A. D., as has been done by some scholars.

The astronomical details of the date of birth of Kulaśēkhara furnished in the *Guruparamparas* which carry an air of genuineness about them on account of their smug completeness have been calculated by Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai

1 அஞ்சலெனக் குடப்பாம்பிலங்கையிட்டான் வாழியே.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL.

3 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 148. *Ancient India*, page 401; but the *Madrās Epigl. Report* for 1900 refers only to Tirumangai's *Tirumēdvāṇḍāḍakam*.

4 *Tamil varalāru*, p. 128.

5 *History of Vaishnavism*, page 21.

to be equivalent to A. D. 767; but he has himself expressed the opinion¹ that these data have not the authenticity of contemporary observations, as they are often found to have been cooked up by retrospective calculations by the biographers who sketched out the Saint's lives at a later time. Their acceptance will therefore have to depend upon the confirmation received by other independent historical or literary evidence.

Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has attempted to fix the date of Kulaśekhara as A. D. 825 on the strength of an historical reference in one of the verses of the *Perumāḷ-Tirumōḷi* which, according to his interpretation, is made to refer to the defeat and death of a Pallava king of Mallai (Mahāmalla-puram) at the Chēra king's hands and of the fact that, as the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa I is also considered to have invaded the southern portion of the Pallava-dominions during the closing years of Dantivarman's reign (825) proceeding as far as Araṣūr in Toṇḍai-nāḍu,³ Kulaśekhara may, in all probability, have distinguished himself in this campaign as a Pāṇḍya vassal. Although Kulaśekhara has been assigned to about the same period in this paper also, the correctness of the argument cited above may be examined. A recent writer in the *Śendamiḷ*⁴ has advanced a theory suggesting that the *sāṟṟukkavis* tagged on to the end of the decades of verses of the Āḷvārs need not necessarily be the composition of the respective authors, but may have been supplemented by later poets between the 10th and 12th centuries after the *Nālāyirappirabandham* was collated in its present anthological form; and that this view finds support in the fact that, at least in the *Perumāḷ-Tirumōḷi*, the self-laudation expressed in the final stanzas is not in general consonance with the spirit of humility and detachment pervading the other verses of the poems. For instance, the *bhakta* who would discard a regal life and rest content to be born a fish in the hill-springs of blessed Vēṅgaḍam⁵ cannot be expected to call himself at the end of the same poem as a Kulaśekhara of a murderous javelin, or elsewhere, as the king who shone with a resplendent sword at the head of a terrific army, as the lord of the triple kingdom of Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya. If therefore the theory of interpolation can be accepted, the argument that Kulaśekhara has referred to his own achievement loses its weight as the line quoted is in the 11th verse of his 7th *Tirumōḷi*; but another writer in the same journal has criticised this view and has made a bold stand on the orthodox side. Leaving aside therefore this discussion about the real authorship of the *sāṟṟukkavis* of the *Prabandham*, it may be noted that the line extracted for illustration does not admit of the historical interpretation suggested above. This *Tirumōḷi* of ten verses was intended

1 Chairman's remarks on same, page 54.

2 மல்லைமாதகர்க்கிறையவன் தன்னை
வான் செலுத்தி வந்திங்களை மாயத்து
எல்லையில் பின்னை செய்வன காணாத்
தெய்வத் தேவகி புலம்பிய புலம்பல்
கொல்லிகாவலன் மாலடிமுடிமேல்
கோலமாம் குலசேகரன் சொன்ன
நல்லிசைத்தமிழ் மாவைல்லார்கள்
நண்ணுவார் ஒல்லைநாணனுலகே

—*Perumāḷ-Tirumōḷi*, VII. 11.

3 The *Pallavas* page 77.

4 *Śendamiḷ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 333-40, and pp. 429-42.

5 *Perumāḷ-Tirumōḷi*, IV, 2.

to express the rapture of Dēvakī at meeting her divine son, who had been separated from her during all these long years of her incarceration by her vengeful brother and who had now returned to her after an adventurous life of exile spent in Gōkula, culminating in the slaying of Kamsa himself in a boxing match at Mathurā. The fond mother yearningly, almost jealously, pictures to herself the pleasurable sight of all the lovable attractions and juvenile sports of Kṛishṇa which was denied to her and Vasudēva, the real parents, but which was vouchsafed to the more fortunate pair Yaśōda and Nanda, the foster-parents at Nandavraja, with whom Kṛishṇa had spent his eventful boyhood. Her pathetic catalogue of the Gōkula incidents, from the purely infantile pranks of Kṛishṇa up to his youthful adventures with Gōvardhanagiri, Vṛishabhāsura, the serpent Kālīya and the demoness Pūtana, ends with his final combat with the arch-enemy Kamsa himself; and the Ālvār therefore winds up the last verse saying that he versified in his own sweet style this dolorous lament of Dēvakī, which she may have naturally poured forth to Kṛishṇa on the occasion of his first meeting her in prison after the death of the lord of Mallai. Mallai, the usual synonym for Mahāmalla-puram appears to have been used here to refer to Mathurā, Kamsa's capital, (Mallai-mānagaram = the prosperous city—of athletes?)¹. No defeat or death of a Pallava king seems therefore to have been hinted at in this verse. It may also be noted that Kulasekhara has nowhere, in the other decades, exceeded the limit of the latter half of the final verses to embalm his name and titles; and even if this verse is taken as an exception to that rule, the interpretation put upon it is far-fetched, for the epithet 'who returned after killing the lord of Mallai' (மல்லைமானகர்க்கிறையவன் தன்னைவான் செலுத்திவந்திங்களை) has to be taken to qualify the incomparable Divine child² (மாயத்து எல்லையில் பிள்ளை) rather than Kulasekhara, whose name occurs further on in the other half of the stanza and whose work was only the versification of this lament and nothing more. That Kṛishṇa actually met his mother Dēvakī at Mathurā soon after the death of its tyrant-king, is described in the *Bhāgavatam* and is further referred to in the fourth verse of this poem, where Dēvakī says, கண்ணனே! . . . இளமையின்பத்தை இன்று என் தன் கண்ணாற்பருகுவேற்கு இவன் தாபென நினைந்த அளவில்! If ஈங்குஅனை should refer to Kulasekhara, who returned from his victorious battle to worship Kṛishṇa in gratitude, it is inexplicable why the name of that Kṛishṇa's temple is not specifically mentioned, as on the other occasions at Kāṇṇapuram, Chitrakūṭam and Viṣṇuvakkōḍu. The last verse of the 9th *Tirumōḻi* or Daśaratha's Lament² is also worded in a similar spirit and only its latter

1 It is interesting to note that Pillaipapperumāl Ayyangār makes use of the pun on the word *Mallai* = athletes and *Mahāmalla-puram* in the verse:

செறிந்தபண்பலித்துத் தின்களிறறைச் சாடி
முறிந்துவிழுப்பாகனைபுமோதி—பெயறிந்து
தருக்கடன்மல்லைக்குமைத்தான்றஞ்சமென்று நெஞ்சே
திருக்கடன்மல்லைக்குட்டிரி

But Kulasekhara refers only to Mathur in his verse.

—*Narrettutiruppati-andali*, v. 93.

2 ஏரார்ந்தகருநெடுமாவிராமனாய்
வனம்புக்க அதனுக்கு ஆற்றா
தாரார்ந்த தடவரைத்தோள் தயரதன் தான்
புலம்பிய அப்புலம்பல் தன்னை
உரார்ந்த வேல் வலவன் கோழியர் கோன்
குடைக் குலசேகரன் சொற்செய்த
சேரார்ந்த தமிழ்மலை இவை வல்லார்
தினெறிக்கண் செல்லார்தாமே

—*Tirumōḻi*, IX, 11.

half has been reserved, as usual, for the inevitable colophon. The Pallava king Dantivarman whom Kulasekhara is considered to have encountered in A. D. 825 is not also known to have died (வரவர் சூழ்த்து) at that time, as other records of his 49th and 51st years of reign have been found at Guḍimallam and Tiruchchānūr¹.

From the *Travancore State Manual*² we learn that in the beginning of the Kollam era a brahman-poet called Paṭṭattu Vāsudēva-Bhaṭṭāṭiri, who began life as a servant in the house of a priest, was miraculously instilled with the poetic muse by eating a few plantains given him by the god at Tiruvilakkāvu in Kēraḷa, and that he composed the two kāvyas, *Yudhisṭhīravijayam* and *Tripuradahanam*. In the Palace Library at Trivandrum are found the manuscripts of these two works which are stated to have been composed by a poet of the name of Vāsudēva. Of these the first work has been commented upon by a certain Chokkanātha and is available in the Palace Library, while another by the commentator, Rāghavakavi *alias* Śrīkanṭha, is also understood to exist; but the text has been published by the Nirayasaagara Press together with a third commentary of Rājānaka Ratnakanṭha, a poet who flourished in the time of the Mughal Emperor Aurangazib. From the latter fact and also because a manuscript of the work was discovered at Kashmir, its editor in the *Kāvyamālā Series*³ has hazarded the erroneous conjecture, that both the poet and the king whom he mentions may have belonged to Northern India. The other *kānya* called *Tripuradahanam*, which does not appear to have been published hitherto, is also from the pen of the same author, as will be shown in the sequel. In the first few verses⁴ of the *Yudhisṭhīravijayam*, the

1 Nos. 226 and 262 of the Madras Collection for 1903 and 1904.

2 *State Manual*, Vol. III, p. 427.

3 Introduction to *Yudhisṭhīravijayam* in the *Kāvyamālā Series*, No. 60.

काश्मीरमन्तरास्य काव्यस्य विरलप्रचारत्वेन काश्मीरिकावेवैतौ पार्थिवपण्डितौ भवेताम् । अत एव
अस्योपरि काश्मीरिकराजानकरत्नकण्ठकृतैव व्याख्या समुपलब्धा ॥

- 4 अस्ति स गजराजगती राजवरो येन गतशुगजराजगती ।
भीषणमधिकं कवयः स्तुवन्ति जन्यं यदिमधिकंकवयः ॥ ४ ॥
तरवो भूरिच्छायाः समानफलदायिनी च भूरिच्छायाः ।
सविनयशोभा जनता यद्राज्ये यस्य भुवि यशो भाजनता ॥ ५ ॥
तस्य च वसुधामवतः काले कुलशेखरस्य वसुधामवतः ।
वेदानामध्यायी भारतगुरुरभवदाधनामध्यायी ॥ ६ ॥
यं प्राप रमा चार्थं देवी च गिरां पुराणपरमाचार्यम् ।
यमशुभसन्तोदान्तं परमेश्वरमुपदिशन्ति सन्तोदान्तम् ॥ ७ ॥
ज्ञानसमग्रामेयं निवसन्तं विप्रसत्तमग्रामे यम् ।
तिलकं भूमावाहुर्ह्यस्यार्थिषु दत्तभूतिभूमावाहुः ॥ ८ ॥
समजनि कश्चित्तस्य प्रवणश्शिष्योऽनुवर्तकश्चित्तस्य ।
काव्यानामालोके पटुमनसो वासुदेवनामा लोके ॥ ९ ॥
कीर्तिमद्भ्रां तेन स्मरता भारतवसुधामदभ्रान्तेन ।
जगदुपहासाय मिता पार्थकथा कल्मषापहा सा यमिता ॥ १० ॥

author says that he composed the work in the reign of a king called Kulaśekhara of elephant gait, who dispelled the sorrow of his subjects, whose terrible battle-fields were extolled by poets as hovered over by vultures, whose country abounded in shady trees and yielded bumper harvests, whose subjects were peace-loving and who was himself a fit repository of fame. In this reign there lived a devout teacher named Bhārataguru (an expounder of the *Bhārata* by profession?) well-versed in the Vēdas and a pet of both Lakshmi and Sarasvatī, who was considered a very Paramēśvara in his qualities (was he also called Paramēśvara?), who was of unfathomed knowledge, who lived in an *agrahāra* peopled by pious brahmins, who was called a *tilaka* (by pandits) and whose hands bestowed extensive gifts of lands to the needy. To such a preceptor who delighted in perusing good *kāvya*s, Vāsudēva became a willing disciple and with the idea of acquiring undying fame, he whose mind was steeped in the Bhārata lore composed in the *yamaka* style the story of Pārtha (Yudhishtira) anticipating, however, the world's ridicule.

In the *Mukundamālā* which is admitted on all hands to be the composition of the Chēra king Kulaśekhavarman *alias* Kulaśekhara-Ālvār, the last verse is found as follows in all the hitherto printed editions :—

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतधरौ कविलोकवीरौ
मित्रे द्विजन्मपरिवारशिवावभूताम् ।
तेनाम्बुजाक्षचरणाम्बुजषट्पदेन
राज्ञा कृता स्तुतिरियं कुलशेखरेण ॥

But the manuscript of an annotated copy of the same poem, discovered by Mr. S. Paramesvara Ayyar M. A., B. L., M. R. A. S. of Trivandrum, offers the following reading for the first half of that verse:

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतिधरौ रविलोकवीरौ
मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपारशवावभूताम् ।

and this is explained in the commentary in the sense that a (Nambūdiri) brahman called Ravi and a *pārasava*, a member of the *vāriyar*-caste known by the name or title of Lōkavīra were the friends of the royal author¹. The *Tripuradahana* which is written in the same *yamaka* style as its sister-poem the *Yudhishtiravijaya* and which may, on this single argument, be pronounced to be the work of the same author has this piece of information to give, *viz.*, that it was composed by the son of Ravi²; and its commentator, a certain Nīlakaṇṭha (c. 13th century) has also identified this रविभूः with Vāsudēva himself³. It is also quite appropriate that

1 Some other scholars find in this verse an implied reference to Kulaśekhara's contemporaries, the brahman devotee Tondēraḍippōḍi and the *pānaḍi* Tiruppānālvar; and quote also 'ஆடிப்பாடி அரங்காவே! என்றழைக்கும் தொண்டரடிப்போடி, ஆடநாம் பெறில் கங்கைநீர் குடைந்தாடும் வேட்கை என்னுவதே (II, 3) but the reference is by no means conclusive.

Dr. S. Krishnasvami Ayyangar has द्विजन्मवरपञ्चरावभूताम् and *Bṛhatstotra-muktāhāra* has कविलोकवीरौ मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपञ्चरावभूताम् ।

2 मतिबलमासाद्य मितं पुरदहनं रविभुवा समासाद्यमितम्

—*Tripuradahana*.

3 त्रिपुरदहनसंज्ञं काव्यमेतद्विधातुं कविरथ रविसूनुर्वासुदेवाभिदानः ।

निरुपमचरितेन स्वच्छमीशानसंज्ञं नतजनहितदं तं स्तौति विघ्नातेभीतः ॥ —Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary.

poet Vāsudēva should have dedicated his *Yudhishthiravijayam*, a Vaishṇava composition, to Kulaśekhara the great Vaishṇava bhakta and the author of the *Mukundamālā* and *Tirumoli*.

It is therefore reasonable to identify king Kulaśekhara who has been glorified in the *Yudhishthiravijayam* by Vāsudēva, son of Ravi, with Kulaśekhara-Ālvār, the author of the *Mukundamālā* and the friend of Ravi and to assign the royal saint and the poet Vāsudēva to the beginning of the Kollam era.

Two dramas of the names of *Tapatīsamvaranām*¹ and *Subhadrādhanañ-jayam*² published as Nos. XI and XIII of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series are found to be the works of a king named Kulaśekhara-varman, who styles himself as the lord of Mahōḍayapura, (Kōḍuṅgōlur to the north of Cochin) and the crest-jewel of the Kēraḷa dynasty. It is learnt that he was also the author of an earlier prose work called the *Āścharyamañjarī*³. From the spirit of sincere devotion to god Viṣṇu that pervades the two dramas and from the similarity of ideas expressed in the *bharatārākya* and some other stanzas of these works with those in the *Mukundamālā*, the inference has been drawn by scholars⁴ that the two authors, who were both of them kings called Kulaśekhara were identical; and as the *Mukundamālā* is the production of the Kēraḷa king Kulaśekhara who was later on canonised as an Ālvār, the two dramas have also been considered as the works of the Vaishṇava saint. In a verse generally attributed to Rājaśekhara,⁵ who may be the same as the author of *Bālārāmaṇam* etc., who flourished in the first half of the 10th century, some well-deserved eulogy is bestowed on the merits of Kulaśekhara's *Āścharyamañjarī*; and from this, the lower limit of the latter author was fixed in the beginning of the 9th century, allowing a somewhat long interval for his work to earn such popularity in the distant north. The omission of the name of the preeminent dramatist Bhavabhūti (the contemporary of Avantivarman 693-729) from the list of the *Mahākavis* Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Harsha and Dandin to whom Kulaśekhara pays the due homage of reference in his *Tapatīsamvaranām* has also been taken to point to the conclusion that Kulaśekhara must have lived at a time when Bhavabhūti's fame had not penetrated into the southern corner of India, i.e., in all probability about the first half of the 9th century A. D. or earlier. From these facts, the argument for assigning this king to a much later

1 तस्य राज्ञः केरळचूडामणेरुहोदयपुरपरमेश्वरस्य श्रीकुलशेखरवर्मणः कृतिरियमधुना प्रयोगविषयमवतरति ।

—*Tapatīsamvaranām*.

2 तपतीसंवरणघटनापटुतरस्य राज्ञः कलमराशिपेशलकैदारिककेरळाधिनाथस्य श्रीकुलशेखरवर्मणो निजनिबन्धनमद्य भद्राति बुधहृदयम् ।

—*Subhadrādhanañjayam*.

3 यस्य परमहंसपादपंकुहृत्पुटलपवित्राकृतमुकुटतटस्य वसुधाविबुधधनायान्धकारमिहिरायमाणकरकमलस्य मुखकमलादगलद् आश्चर्यमञ्जरीकथामधुदवः ।

—*Tapatīsamvaranām*.

4 Introduction to the *Tapatīsamvaranām* in the *Triv. Sanskrit Series*.
Archæological Report for 1096 M. E.
Bhāṣapōṣhiṇi for 1917.

5 दूरादपि सतां चित्ते लिखित्वाश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ।

कुलशेखरवर्माभ्यां चकाराश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ॥

—Rājaśekhara in *Suktimuktāvaṛī*.

6 शद्रककालिदासहर्षदण्डिप्रमुखाणां महाकवीनामन्यस्य कस्य कवेरिव निबन्धनम् । —*Tapatīsamvaranām*.

date on the strength of a doubtful(?) reference to Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpa*¹ considered to have been made by Sumati (?), a Nambudiri brahman of Paramēśvara-maṅgalam, who was a contemporary of Kulaśekhara and who wrote the two commentaries called *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* on the two dramas under the supervision of and with suggestions received from the royal author himself, has also been contested; and it has been suggested² that a later scribe of the particular manuscript may have been responsible for the insertion in the commentary of this supplementary note quoting from *Daśarūpa*.

All the arguments noted above do not appear to be unreasonable, but in addition to them the following points may have also to be given some consideration, before the two dramas can be definitely attributed to the saint-king of the 9th century. The author of the *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* has given king Kulaśekhara's personal opinion on the merits of his own dramas in the following verse:—

ध्वनियुक्ताव्यसरणिः शस्तेति प्रोच्यते बुधैः ।

एतस्माद् ध्वनियुक्ता सा रचिता नाटकद्वयी ॥

which is almost an echo of the dictum laid down by Ānandavardhana (A. D. 880) in the opening line of his *Dhvanyāloka viz.*, काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति बुधैर्यः समास्नातपूर्वः । ; and the dramas may therefore be presumed to be posterior and to be permeated with that requisite which gives the necessary life to a good composition.

In the fifth act of the *Tapatīsamvaranāṁ* occurs a verse³ where the love-lorn king is made to say that the sun sheds coolnectarrays on him and then to request a passing cloud (apostrophised as *Akālajalada*) not to trouble the friendly sun (*Ravi-maṇḍalam*) even for a moment. From the way in which these two verses are put into the context it looks as if the author wanted to convey in this description a hidden reference to some current political event; but in cases of this type where much has to depend upon the hypothetical interpretation of particular verses one cannot afford to be dogmatic. If, however, *Akālajalada* can be taken to be a synonym for *Akālavarsha*, we know that it was a title borne by three Rāshtrakūṭa kings of the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries A. D. viz., Kṛishṇa I (A. D. 750), Kṛishṇa II (A. D. 888-911), the contemporary of the Chēra king Sthānu-Ravi and the Chōḷa Āditya, and Kṛishṇa III (937-67), the contemporary probably of the Chera king Indu-Kōḍai and his immediate predecessor and of the Chōḷa kings, Parāntakas I and II. In the two latter cases, the troubling of the Ravi-maṇḍalam may be taken to refer either to an anticipated invasion of the kingdom (*maṇḍalam*) of Sthānu-Ravi or of Chōḷa Āditya or to the temporary occupation of the territory of the Chōḷas (*Solar* dynasty) by Kṛishṇa III, who took Kanchi killing the Chōḷa prince Rāj-āditya at the battle of Takkōlam in A. D. 947.⁴ If the first significance was intended, Kulaśekhara should be considered to have composed the drama before

1 Introduction to *Tapatīsamvaranāṁ*, p. 4.

2 *Bhāṣāpōshinī*, for 1917.

3 हा कष्टमकालजलदः पापीयानां शुमालिनं तिरोधत्ते । भो भोः सौदमनीवल्लभ !

लास्यारम्भप्रविततशिखानर्पयन्तं कलापान् केकापूरप्रचितकुहरां क्रन्धरां द्राघयन्तम् ।

त्वं प्रेक्षस्व प्रणयविवशः प्रेमवन्तं मयूरं मा भूर्मेघ ! क्षणमपि रवेर्मण्डलस्योपरोधी ॥ - V. 11.

4 *Histl. Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 229.

perhaps he had himself abdicated the throne according to the custom of Kēraḷa and Sthāṇu-Ravi had already been anointed as king. As the latter king is known from his famous copper-plate grants and the Tillaisthānam record to have been living in about A. D. 880, Kulasekhara, his predecessor, may have to be located in the first half of the 9th century between about A. D. 830 and 850 and can then be identified with the Ālvār, who has been stated above to belong to this period; but unfortunately there is no epigraphical authority for stating that a Rāshtrakūṭa invasion of Kēraḷa or of the Chōḷa dominions was threatened in the reign of Kṛishṇa II—Akāḷavarsha. If, however, the second interpretation be accepted, the royal author of the two dramas may be considered to have been a predecessor of Indu-Kōḍaivarman who has been tentatively assumed to have begun his reign in A. D. 955, and a successor of Vijayarāgadēva who was only a prince in about A. D. 880. This was a period when cordial feelings prevailed among the three powers of the South who had made common cause for the total extinction of the main Pallava line which ended with the defeat of Aparājita at the hands of the Chōḷa Āḍitya I at the end of the 9th century. Sthāṇu-Ravi was the friend and ally of Āḍitya I, and princess Nīlī, the daughter of Vijayarāgadēva who must have succeeded Sthāṇu on the Chēra throne, figures as a donor to the Tiruvorriyūr temple (Chingleput District) in a record of Parāntaka I dated in A. D. 935. Parāntaka was himself connected with the Chēra dynasty by marriage as his queens one of whom was Kōkkilāṇaḍigal, the mother of prince Rājāditya, were Chēra princesses; but it is not known if one of these or another lady was the daughter of the Kēraḷa chief Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, whom the Chōḷa king is also said to have married. Parāntaka (Vīra-Chōḷa) and his queen are known to have been donors to the Tiruvalla temple in the Travancore State.

This location of Kulasekhara between the years 935 and 955 does not, however, necessarily preclude the possibility of the northern poet Rājasekhara being able to refer to the former author's *Āścharyamañjarī*, which was assuredly the first of his productions; only the interval is rather short, which may also account for the possibly contemporary (?) tone of the testimony of Rājasekhara in his appreciative stanza. It also renders it probable that the royal author was tempted to compose his dramas as *dhvaniyuktā* on a perusal of the *Dhvanyālōka*, the strong advocate of the employment of *dhvani* in compositions, which was at that time quite a recent critical work on Rhetoric. The only point that clashes with these surmises is the omission of the name of Bhavabhūti in the list of poets mentioned by Kulasekhara; but it has to be supposed that the list was not exhaustive, and that the royal author mentioned in a haphazard fashion only a few of his predecessors in the realm of poetics. That there was at least one Chēra king by the name of Kulasekhara anterior to Indu-Kōḍaivarman is proved by the fact that the father-in-law of Vijayarāgadēva was a certain Kulasekharadēva and it is

1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 76-7.

2 " Vol. III, p. 162.

3 *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 236.

4 *T. A. S.*, Vol. III, p. 162.

5 *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 141.

6 *T. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 144.

possible that the successor of Vijayarāga was also another Kulaśekhara, named after this maternal grandfather. All these are, no doubt, probable guesses to show that the author of the two dramas need not necessarily be equated with the saint-king of the same name, unless there are more convincing arguments in favour of that identification.

The following tentative list of the Chēra kings may for the present be drawn up, subject however to such corrections as future finds may render necessary:—

Name.	Approximate dates.
Rājaśekhara-dēva (whose copper-plate record is attributable to the beginning of the 9th century, and who was a contemporary of the great Śaṅkara)	800-825
Kulaśekhara-varman <i>alias</i> Kulaśekhara-Ālvār, (the author of <i>Mukundamālā</i> and <i>Tirumoli</i>)	825-850
Rāma (of <i>Tripuradchana Śaurikathōdaya</i> and <i>Nalōdaya</i>)	850-870
Sthānu-Ravi (of Kottayam-plates and Tillaisthānam record)	870-900
Vijayarāga-dēva (the heir-apparent in the Kottayam plates)	900-935
Kulaśekhara-varman (the author of the two dramas)	935-955
Indu-Kōḍaivarman (latest regnal year 16)	955-971
Bhāskara-Ravivarman (latest regnal year 58)	978-1036
Ravi-Rāma Kulaśekhara-Chakravarti	1089-1102

"E. J.—Pillar Inscriptions in the same temple.

Inscriptions E to J which are engraved on the pillars of the *sūrru-maṇḍapa* or covered circumambulatory passage round the central shrine of the temple register simply the names of their respective donors; and they are all of them dated on the same day when the temple was renovated, namely Kollam year 782, Chitrai 6.

E

On a pillar in the sūrru-maṇḍapa.

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1 எள அயிலை வுரு | 6 வர் கொயிலில் |
| 2 சித்திரை மீ ம சு | 7 தானத்தாரில் மெ- |
| 3 உ உருத்தூண் | 8 ச்செரி தெவன் |
| 4 செய்வித்த கெ- | 9 திருவிக்கிரமன் |
| 5 ரளபுரத்து மாதெ- | 10 சதா செவை- |

1 T. A. S., Vol. III, p. 173, 181.

2 [E, F, H, G, J, —These are registered as Nos. 58 to 62 respectively of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.]

F

On another pillar.

- | | | | |
|---|------------------------|----|--------------|
| 1 | எள அயெ (ஹ்) சித்தி- | 6 | பாக்காமங்கல- |
| 2 | ரை மீ ¹ கூஉ | 7 | ம் தெசத்து |
| 3 | சித்திரகண்ட- | 8 | இச்சவரன் |
| 4 | ம் உருத்தூண் | 9 | கொதை ச |
| 5 | செய்வித்தான் | 10 | தாசெவை- |

G

On a third pillar.

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|----|---------------------|
| 1 | எள அயெ (ஹ்) சி- | 6 | வகைக்கு பறக்கை- |
| 2 | த்திரைமீ ¹ கூஉ உ- | 7 | கயில் வளத்துரு- |
| 3 | ருத்தூண் செய்- | 8 | வாக்கும் பெருமரன் |
| 4 | வித்த தானகை- | 9 | திருவாழ் மாற்[ப*]ன் |
| 5 | க்கு அய்யப்பன் ² அய்யப்பன் | 10 | சதாசெவை- |

H

On a fourth pillar.

- | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| 1 | எள அயெ (ஹ்) சித்தி- | 4 | த்தூண் செய்வித்த |
| 2 | ரைமீ ¹ கூஉ சித்தி- | 5 | விஜயர் தெசத்து |
| 3 | கண்டம் உரு | 6 | கணக்கு ² அய்யப்பன் இரவி |
| | | 7 | சதாசெவை |

I

On a fifth pillar.

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| 1 | எள அயெ (ஹ்) சித்- | 5 | பாலைக்கொடு |
| 2 | திரை மாதம் கூஉ | 6 | தெசத்து கணக்கு ² |
| 3 | செவித்த ¹ கண்- | 7 | பாப்பன் பாப்பன் |
| 4 | ம் உருத்தூண் | 8 | சதாசெவை |

J

On a sixth pillar.

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------|----|---------------------------------|
| 1 | எள | 11 | ய திருப்பணி கணக்கு ² |
| 2 | அயெ | 12 | எழுத்துப்பணி |
| 3 | (ஹ்) சி- | 13 | செய்விக்கையு- |
| 4 | த்திரை | 14 | ம் செய்கையில் உரு- |
| 5 | மீ ¹ ம் கூ- | 15 | த்தூண் செய்வி- |
| 6 | உ ராசரா- | 16 | த்த திருப்பன் றிப்பா- |
| 7 | சப்ப- | 17 | க்கத்து பெரு ² மான் |
| 8 | ள்ளி | 18 | சிவனடியான் |
| 9 | நாராயணன் ² | 19 | சதாசெவை |
| 10 | சங்கரன் ஆளா- | | |

1 The word சித்திர has been omitted.

2 These words are all expressed by symbols.

No. 31—Krishnankoyil record of Kollam 887.¹

This Tamil inscription which is engraved on the walls of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine of the Kṛṣṇasvāmin temple at Krishnankōyil, a suburb of Keralapuram, is dated in the Kollam year 887 and the astronomical details furnished in it give the English equivalent A. D. 1711, August 6.

It records that certain lands were given by a private individual called Śilayāpillai-Ariyakuṭṭi to the temples of Kṛṣṇa-viṇṇavar-Enberumāṇ and Kulaśekhara-Vināyakapillaiyār at Ravipuram which were constructed about Kollam 830, when Nayanār (king) Ravi-Ravivarman *alias* Śiraiyāymūṭṭa-Tambirāṇār was the reigning king and that the donor secured from the king certain tax exemptions for these lands. This document was engraved on stone from the original copperplate record by a descendant of the donor named Setṭu Velāyuda-perumāḷ residing in the street (*perunderuvu*) called the 'Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśekharaapperumāḷ-perunderuvu' of Tiruvidāṅgōḍu (a town) in Malai-maṇḍalam, in the Kollam year 887.

It is noteworthy that the suburb which grew around the nucleus of the temple was known as Ravipuram and that the Vināyaka was also named Kulaśekhara-Vināyakapillaiyār in honour of the king, to whose charitable disposition the two temples owed certain privileges.

Text.

- 1 சகாத்தம் சுதகாநயந. ன் மெல் செல்-
- 2 லாநின்ற கொல்லம் அரஅளெ ஓஸ் ஆவணி
- 3 ஸீ ருஉ சென்ற திங்களாட்சையும் உத்திரமு-
- 4 ம் பூதுவபக்கிழத்து திறுதிகையும் ஆனைக்கரணமும்
- 5 சாத்தந்தியயொகமும் பெற்ற இன்னனால் மலை-
- 6 மண்டலத்து திருவிதாங்கொட்டு இரவிவன்ம-
- 7 ராய குலசெகரப்பெருமாள் பெருந்தெருவில்-
- 8 ச் செட்டு வெலாயுதப்பெருமாள் தம்பிராந்தொழுவெ-
- 9 ன் என் காணவன் சிலையாபிள்ளை அரி-
- 10 யகுட்டி முன் ஷெயூரில். சொவிலும் கெட்டிவி-
- 11 த்து நயினார் இரவிபுரத்து ஸீ கிட்டிண விண்-
- 12 ணவ ரென்பெருமானையும் ஷெ கொவிலில் வ-
- 13 டக்கேயிடத்தில குலசெகரவினாயகப்பிள்ளை-
- 14 யாரையும் கற்பகத்துப்பொற்றியைக் கொண்டு,
- 15 பிறதிட்டையும் செய்வித்து கலைசமுமாடிவித்து
- 16 ஷெ நயினாருக்கும் பிள்ளையாருக்கும் பூசை நமக்-
- 17 காரம் அத்தாளம் முத்தாளம் வைச்சு நெய்-
- 18 வெத்தியம் வகக்கு நாளொன்றுக்கு ஆ. 10 உரி
- 19 ஆக புக ச்சு ஆ. 10 ப ரு 9 க்கு ரு உ வித
- 20 ம் நாளுந ப 6 9 உரி ம் ஷெ நயினாருக்கு மாநவி
- 21 செஷம் ஆட்டைவிசெஷம் வகக்குப் படி-
- 22 த்தரத்தின்படி உள்ள செலவும் சாந்தியுட-

¹ This is registered as No. 64 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

23 மக்கு ஸம் க க்கு எ- உளப நு ஷெ கொவில்-

24 ச் சன்னதியில் கிராமக்காரர் உடமையும்

[இ. க. அம் இதுநகரத்த தெக்குமதிலும் பார்க்கவும்]

Second panel.

25 சங்கத்து நீராட்டுப்பள்ளி மத்தளம் கைமணி வகக்குப் படித்தரத்தின்ப-
டி உள்ள பொறு நிக்கி ஸம் க க்கு உட-

26 மை எ- களந் ப ந உரிம் நாகசரம் ஒத்து வகக்கு ஸம் க க்கு உடமை
எ- களந் ப ம் கோதை மகள் வள்ளி உள்-

27 விட்டா நம் குமகை மகள் ஆவிடை உள்ளிட்டாருந் தானுவை மகள் நா-
கா உள்ளிட்டாருந் ஆக முறை

28 க்குடி முற்குக்குப் படித்தரத்தின் படி உள்ள சொறு நீக்கி ஸம் க க்கு
எ- மி ய ம் ஷெ கொவிலுக்கு தெ-

29 க்குக் கல்மடமுந் கெட்டினித்து உமையொருபாகப்பிள்ளையாரையும் எழு-
ந் நருழிசு -

30 மையொருபாக முத்தியாரைக் கொண்டு கலசமுமாடிவித்து ஷெ பிள்ளை-
யாருக்கு நாளொ-

31 ன்றுக்கு வைத்து நெய்வெத்தியம் ஆ உரி ஆக ஸம் க்கு ஆ மருஉ க்கு
எ- ந ப ம் நத்தவனம் திருமாலை

32 கெட்டு வகக்கு ஷெ மடத்திலிருக்கிற பண்டாரத்துக்கு ஸம் க க்கு உட
மை எ- களந் ப ம் ஷெ மடத்தில் நி-

33 த்தியல் திருப்பெருக்கு அமுதுகொடுக்கிற வகக்கு தன்மபத்தர் உடமை-
யும் கணக்கு உடமையும் பல-

34 வெலை உடமையும் மற்றும் பலசெலவுக்கும் முன் எழுதிவைத்த பட்டை-
யத்தின்படி உள்ள எ-

35 வக செலவுக்கும் அவிழுக கட்டிலை திருவிளக் கெண்ணை மாதவிசேஷம்
ஆட்டவிசேஷம்

36 மற்றும் பலவக செலவுக்கும் கூட விச்சவபூறுவ தன்மதானப் பிறமாண-
மாக முன் எழுதிவை-

37 த்த பட்டையத்தின்படி உள்ள நிலமும் புரையெடமுமானது [1*] முன்
அளவெடுவது வைகாசி மீ யகவ நயி-

38 னர் இரவி இரவிவற்றாராய சிறவாய்முத்த தம்பிரான் திருவுள்ளம் பற்றிக்
கலப்பித்த நளி ஷெ கிட்டினுக்கும் பிள்ளையா-

39 ருக்குந் புரையெடப்பட்ட வகக்கு ஷெ சிலையாபிள்ளை அரியகுட்டிக்குக்
கொடுத்த திருமுகத்தின்படி அஞ்சாலி மெ-

40 ல்வாரம் ஒழிந்த நிலமானது [1*] நாஞ்சினாட்டு வடசெரியில் இராசராச-
பெரெரிக்குளத்தின் கீள் நீராகரம் சிதம்ப-

41 ரணுதன் புள்ளியில் பெரியமடைப்பொக்கு தெக்கு மெடு முதல் கண்ணாறு
நெல்மாரி ஷெ ம-

42 டைப்பொக்கில் கைதறைக்கால் முதல் கண்ணாறு கைதறை ஆக ஷெபுள்-
ளியில் தடி

43 பண்டாரம் பனையறை ஆன . . . புள்ளியில் ஷெ மடை வடக்கு மெடு
இரண்டாங் கண்ணாறு சாலியன் வய-

- 44 ல் கிகு அநுகபம் இசுவரன் காளி புள்ளியில் வடக்கு மடை பத்துமரக்-
கால் தடிகு ம கடுக்கரையில் அரியகுட்டி
- 45 இரவி புள்ளியில் புதுக்குளத்தில் கிள்மெல் மடைப்பொக்கு தடிகு
நிலம் . . . ல் . . உளக்கால் தடி
- 46 கவ III நகூம் உ கூ III ம உ ம் குறி தடிகு . .
. II ம் ம் சொனை-
- 47 மாம்பள்ளி புள்ளியில் குறி தடிகு . எத I III ம் உ
. ம உ நிலம் ம் உ எகூ II
- 48 கப ம் கிழப் புதுச்சை தடிகு சு உல் நும் உ கூ உல் நு ம் ஆக புள்ளி
உக்கு ம் இ-
- 49 லுப்பைக் காடெரிக்குளத்தின்கில தடி பலநிலம் . . ம் பிளாக்கொட்டை-
னையும் ஸுத திரு-
- 50 த்து தடி பல உ விசகூ கொனை ஆற்றக்கொணம் தடி பல . . சகம் I (வ-
டக்குப்பிறத்தில் வடக்குமதிலில் பார்க்கவும்)

Third panel.

- 51 ஆக வடசெரிகடுக்கரை உள்ப்பட்ட தடி பல க்கு அஞ்சா-
லியும்
- 52 மெல்வாரமும் ஒழிந்து ஷெ கிட்டிணவின்னவரென்பொருபான் கொவி-
லில்
- 53 சிகாரியம் சபண்டாரம் தானம் தவைக்கு உள்பட்ட ஆசெந்திரதாரவெ
சந்திரா-
- 54 தித்தவரைக்கும் மசட்டுச்சிலையாபிள்ளை அரியகுட்டி. நிருமுகம் வெண்டி-
க்கயில் ஷெ நில-
- 55 ங்களிலுள்ள பாட்டமும் மலைனாட்டில் கொதைநல்லூர்ப்பற்றில் பிராயறை-
க்குளத்தின் கீ-
- 56 மும் தும்பட்டறைக்குளத்தின் கீழும் பாக்கமங்ஙலத்து குளத்தின் கீழும்
கழனி தடிகூருபம்
- 57 தும்பட்டறைக்குளத்தின் கீழும் பாக்கமங்ஙலத்துக் குளத்தின் கீழும் கா-
ரைக்காய் வட்டம்
- 58 தடி க நிலம் சபம் பாக்கமங்ஙலத்து குளத்தின்கிள் கழத்தடிநிலம் சபம்
பிலாமுட்டுப் பறம்பு தடி
- 59 நிலம் ஷெ உக்கு மெக்குப் புதுக்குழியும் பிராயறைக்குளத்தின் கிழ் பிரா-
யறை தடி நிலம் ரூபம் மாத்த-
- 60 றை தடி நிலம் உபம் ஆக்கறைக்குளத்தின் கீள் வெள்ளங்கொள்ளி தடிகு
சபம் உக்காடு தடிகு நபம்
- 61 மாம்பறைக்குளத்தின் கிழ் மாம்பறை தடிகூசபம் சபன்குழி தடிகு ப
நுஉம் மொதிரத்துட-
- 62 வயல் தடிகு நபம் கொழிஞ்ஞித்துடவயல் தடிகு சபம் இளையநயினா-
க்குளத்தின் கீள் தலத்தடி
- 63 தடிகு சபம் கொழியுண்ணி தடிகு நபம் மொங்நாத்துடவயல் தடிகு ந
பம் பறம்புக்குழிக்கு-

- 64 ளத்தாலும் கொற்றலைக்குளத்தாலும் மாவடி தடிகு சபம் கொற்றலைக்கு-
ளத்தாலும் புதிச்சைக்குள-
- 65 த்தாலும் பனையடி தடிகு உபம் நெடுங்குளத்தின் கீழ் பழஞ்சொற்றுக்க-
ண்டம் தடிகு நபம் பெ-
- 66 ருங்குளத்தின் கிழ் மாணங்காணி தடிகு நபம் கொழிப்பறம்பு தடிகு ச-
பம் பால தடிகு
- 67 ருபம் அத்தியடி தடிகு நபம் புதுக்குளத்தாலும் ஆறத்துக்குளத்தாலும்
கண்ணுக்குறிச்சி-
- 68 தடிகு உபம் பெருஞ்சிலம்பில் இடைச்சிறைக் குளத்தாலும் கல்லணையா-
லும் வாழைக்காய்த்துட-
- 69 வயல் தடிகு ருபம் குழவிமுலைக்குளமும் ஷே கோணம் நெல்பாக்கொ-
ட்டு வண்ணார்-
- 70 குளத்தின் கீழ் மணவாழகொட்டமும் வாலமும் தடிகு சபம் ஷேல் ஆழ-
ங்கொட்டம்க்குளத்தின்
- 71 கீழ் நெக்கொட்டையடி தடிகு பம் ஷேல் இழவன்குழமும் அந்நுவறிக்-
குழமும் ஷே கொணம் தடி பல நிலம்
- 72 ஆக மலைநாட்டு வகவத்து கெடமை பொக்கி உள்ள பாட்டவும் பாக்கொ-
ட்டு பெருங்குளத்தின் கீழ் மாவடி தடிகு
- 73 நப க்கு உள்ள கடமையும் கொட்டாற்று பெருமால் அண்ணாவி அஞ்சா-
லி மெல்வார மொழிந்த தானம்
- 74 வெண்டின புளியறை தடி உக சாக்கு உள்ள பாட்டவும் குளச்சையில்
பெற்றாள் விளாகம் புறையி-

Fourth panel.

- 75 டத்துக்கும் நெய்பூர் அஞ்சாலிவிளாகம் பு-
ரையடத்துக்கும் கடமை நீக்கி உள்ள பாட்டமும் ச-
- 76 வாரி கொவிலில் சன்னதிக்கிராமத்து மனை-
பும் வால்வீச்சும் பாண்டாரப்பினை இசுவான் தெவ-
- 78 ன் வக மணக்கொட்டைக்கு கிழ்மெல் இராச-
பெருவழிக்கும் தென்வடல் பெருவழிக்கும்
- 80 கிராமத்து வால்வீச்சுக்கும் நடுவில் மனைக-
ளும் விளாகங்களும் தென்வடல் பெருவ-
- 82 ழிக்கும் கீழ்மெல் இராசபெருவழிக் கும் காணிப்-
பொட்டு அப்பலத்துக்கு தனது வக விளை-
- 84 க்கும் ஆக கல்லன் விளைக்கும் கல்மடத்துக்கும் நடுவில்
மனைகளும் விளாகங்களும் பிச்சப்பிள்ளை-
- 86 யார் கொவில் விளாகவும் கின்றயடிவி-
ளாகவும் திருவிதாங்கொட்டுத் தென்
- 88 வடக்கடையில் மெக்குச்சிறவில் கடை அம் ஷே-
யில் கிளக்கச்சிற வல் கடை கூம் ஆக தெவன்
- 90 விளைக்கு மெற்கு குறவன் விளாகத்துக்கும் கீழ்மெல்
இராசபெருவழிக்கும் தென்வடல் இராசபெ-
- 92 ருவழிக்கும் நாயகப்பட்டர் விளைகளுக்கும் தாணுவி-
ளாகத்துக்கும் நடுவில் விளைகளும் கொவி-

- 95 ல்மதினுக்கும் அந்து வறிகொணத்துக்கும் கிழ்மெ-
 96 மல் இராசபெருவழிக்கும் நாயக்கப்பட்டர் வி-
 97 னைகளுக்கும் தானுவினைகளுக்கும் பண்டாரப்பிள்ளை
 98 விக் கிரமன் சங்கரன் வினைகளுக்கும் (மகர-
 99 தொறணவிளக்குக்கு தெக்குமதிலில் பாக்கவும்)

Fifth panel.

- 100 ஊரான பெருவழிக்கும் நடுவில் விளையனும் தென்வ-
 101 டல் ப் பெருவழிக்கும் வண்ணுள் ஈளத்துக்கும் அந்துறிகொ-
 102 ணத்துக்கும் பண்டாரப்பிள்ளை விக் கிரமன் சங்கரன் விளையனும் ந-
 103 டுவில் விளையனும் தொப்பும் நந்தாவனமும் அகின் கி-
 104 ழக்குத்துண்டுவினைக்கும் ஆக இவ்வகைக்குள்ள பாட்ட-
 105 வும் வெண்டி பூசை உள்பட்ட சிலவும் நடத்திக்-
 106 காள்ள சிலையாபிள்ளை அரியகுட்டி வீட்டுக்-
 107 காடுத்த வக இதுவும் செட்டு பிச்சையார் அணைஞ்சபெருமாள்
 108 முத்தாளம் பூசைக்கும் நமக்காரத்துக்கும் நாள் க-க்கு அரி
 109 நனஅ ஆக 5-ம் க-க்கு டை கள ஆக 5-ம் க-க்கு டை கள-க்கு வி-
 110 ட்டுக் கொடுத்த வக கடுக்கரையில் சிறி தடி கூ
 111 க்கு அகப்பற்று உ-க்கு உள்ள மெல்வாரவும் ஷையில் கடு-
 112 க்கரைப் பள்ளம் தடிகூவாளத 11 . . . க்கு அகப்பற்று
 113 மெல்வாரமும் அராளடு ஓடு கொண்ட அந்தநபுரத்து
 114 நெட்டையினன் குளமும் ஷை கொண்டம் மடிகூ
 115 அஞ்சாலி மெல்வாரம் பொக்கியுள்ள பாட்ட;
 116 வும் அறெனா ஆவணி மீம் றுவு செட்டு வெலாயுதப்-
 117 பெருமாள் தம்பிராத்தொழன் விட்டுக்கொ-
 118 ட்த்த வக வடசெரியில் கரையும் கடுக்கரையில் கை-
 119 ரயும் காணியாட்சையும் ஷையில் குளவும் பணையடிக்கெ-
 120 காணத்துக்குளவும் ஆக இவ்வகைகளுக்கு உள்ள நெ-
 121 ல் பணவகையை வெண்டி பூசையுள்பட-
 122 ட்ட சிலவுகள் ஏறப்பெரும் நடத்திக் கொள்ளவும்
 123 ஆக இந்தவகை ஏறபெரும் ஷை கொவில் தம்மபத்தாவும்
 124 ஷை கொவில் சன்னதி கிராமத்து மாசனங்களும் கூடி
 125 ஷசாரித்துக் கொள்ளுவாராகவும் இந்த தம்மத்துக்கு அ-
 126 கிதம் செய்த பெர் கெங்கை கரையிலே காராம் பசு-
 127 வைக் கொந்ந பாபத்தில் பொவாராகவும் இந்த தம்மம் பரி-¹

No. 32—Vadaseri Copper-plate of Kollam 945.

The subjoined Tamil record is engraved in the Tamil alphabet on both sides of a single copper-plate, which has been kept as exhibit No. 10 in the Napier Museum, Trivandrum. The plate measures 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ " by 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " exclusive of a semi-circular projection at the middle on the top of the plate, which contains the Vairāṇava triple emblem, a Teṅkalai caste-mark flanked on either side by the *śaṅkha*

1 The further lines which will have mentioned the merit of those who protected the charity are not traceable on the walls of the *manḍapa*.

and the *chakra*. The writing is in a good state of preservation and has been engraved between series of thinly marked parallel lines. The place wherefrom the plate was secured is not ascertainable, but from the fact that the inscription records the gifts of certain lands made by two brahman ladies to the Krishna shrine of the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa-vinnagar-Emberumāṇ at Ādityavarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in the northern portion of Nāñjināḍu, the plate¹ must have belonged to the village of that name. From another inscription² it is learnt that Vadaśeri, a hamlet of Nāgercoil, was called Ādityavarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and the village owed that name perhaps to one of the Vēṇāḍu rulers of the name of Ādityavarman³ who reigned in 1375 and during whose time the village and its temple may have come into prominence. An inscription⁴ of Ādityavarman *alias* Sarvāṅganātha which praises the literary attainments of the king and winds up with a verse in glorification of god Krishna of Vadaśeri is actually found engraved in that temple. The name of the god suggests that it may have got its designation after a king who had the title of Rūpanārāyaṇa. The record is dated both in the Śaka year 1691 and Kollam 945 corresponding to the cyclic year Virōdhiṇi and on a Monday, the 27th day of Purattāsi with suklapaksha-dāśami and nakshatra Śravaṇa. The details correspond to A. D. 1769, October 9. No king is however mentioned in the inscription.

The record is of some interest on account of the fact that a brahman called Rāmaliṅgam, son of Vaittiliṅga-bhaṭṭar of the Kaundinya-gōtra, Āpastambha-sūtra and the Yajus-śākhā and a resident in the south Māḍa street of the village, who had in the previous year made some gifts of land for conducting certain feeding charities in the temple of Krishna, having perhaps deceased suddenly, his two wives (widows), Jānakī-sāni and Parvatavarddhanī-sāni undertook to get a regular document drawn up in respect of these gifts, mentioning therein the details of the several items of expenditure connected with the daily feeding of eight brahmins throughout the year of 365 days (*adhikanāl-ulpāda*) and the special feeding of nine additional men during every Tiruvōṇam (nak. Śravaṇa) thirteen times in the year. All the documents, relating to previous monetary and other transactions, connected with the plots of land now gifted away as charity, in all numbering four and dating from Kollam 915, were deposited in the temple-treasury and a fresh deed was drafted on a cadjan leaf from which again, it is said, this authenticated copy was afterwards incised on copper by an engraver.

As usual in later Tamil documents, the language used is somewhat ungrammatical, with no very special peculiarities, however, except that *tiriyaḷ* is used for *strīkaḷ* after the omission of the initial sibilant, Krishna is tamilised into *Kiṭṭina*, *sahiraṇya* has undergone a vulgar transformation into *chakiraṇiya* and *namaskāram* has slid into the form of *namakkāram*. Grantha letters have been very sparingly used in the record, the only instances being the initial *svasti śrī* and the final *Śrī-Krishnaśvāmi-tunai*. Many misleading numerical as well as verbal

1 This may be copper-plate No. 4 of 1084.

2 No. 66 of 1084, published on page 125.

3 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 265.

4 T. A. S., Vol. I, p. 172.

abbreviations have been employed in the inscription and their proper values are sometimes found difficult to determine with certainty, although most of them may be guessed at with reference to the contexts.

Some of the proper names occurring in this inscription are of the villages Īśānti-maṅgalam, Varaguna-maṅgalam, Bhūtappāṇḍi, the rivulets Araṣiyār and Teḷḷāṇḍi, and the individuals Ulagudaiva-nāchchiyār, Tambirāṇḍolan-Sīvalakkutti and Kadambara-nāyar of Iraviman. Bhūtappāṇḍi is a village in the Tovala taluk in South Travancore, and Īśānti-maṅgalam described as situated in the western portion of Nāñjināḍu is a village near Bhūtappāṇḍi.

The name Tambirāṇḍolan (god's comrade) borne by an individual of the 17th century is reminiscent of the surname of saint Sundaramūrti, an account of whose friendship with the god (*tambirāṇ*) at Tiruvennainallūr in the South Arcot district is narrated in the *Periyapurāṇam*.

A translation of the document has not been furnished as a major portion of it details only the boundaries of the several pieces of land and is not otherwise important.

Text.¹

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [*] சகாத்தம் கதகநாகயக ன் மெல் கொல்லம்[*] ககசும-
- 2 ரு(ஸ்) விரோதி ஸ்ரீ புரட்டாதிமாதம்² உய்வெ ஸ்ரீவபட்சத்து தெசமி-
- 3 யும்² சொமவாரமுடி திரிதிநாமயொகமுடி யானைக்கர-
- 4 ணமுடி பெற்ற திருவொண நட்சத்திற்று நாள் செய்த சகிரணி-
- 5 யொதபூறுவ தம்மதான பிறமாணமாவது [II*] நாஞ்சிராட்டு
- 6 வடசருவில் ஆதித்தவற்றம் சதுர்வெதிமங்கலத்து நயினர் உரு-
- 7 ப நாராயண விண்ணவ எம்பெருமானார் கொவில் சிறி க-
- 8 ஷ்ணசுவாமி சன்னதியில் கிராமத்தில் தெற்கு மாடதெருவில்
- 9 கவுண்டினிய கொத்திற்று ஆ(பதம்)பத்தம்பருத்திற்றத்தில் எசராநா-
- 10 த்கயான வைத்திலிங்கப்பட்டர் புத்திரன் ராமலிங்கன் திறியள் ச-
- 11 னனகியும் பறுவதவற்றத்தினிசானியொம் கீட்டிணசுவாமி சன்னதி-
- 12 யில் நித்திய நமக்காரத்துக்கும் திருவொண பிளாமண பொச-
- 13 னத்துக்கும் உதகதான பிறமாணம் எழுதிக்குடுத்த பரிசாவ-
- 14 து [II*] முன் சரிசஸ்ரீ மாசுமாதம் ஸசவ எங்கள் பறத்தா ராமலிங்கன்
- தான-
- 15 ம்செய்த நிலமாவது [*] நாஞ்சிராட்டு மெல்பிடாகை ஈசார்தி-
- 16 மங்கலம் மாங்குளம் கீழ்பால் சங்கண்ணு² அரசியார் கால்ப-
- 17 பொக்கில் தெள்ளாந்தி மடைப்புரவில் தெள்ளாந்தி வய-
- 18 ல் தடி கஉ³ க்கு எல்கையாவது கீழ் வல்-
- 19 கை மாடன் நாகர் உ⁴த்துக்கு மெற்குத் தென்னெல்கை கீழ்-
- 20 மெல்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு மெலெல்கை அரசியார் காலுக்-

1 Registered as No. 1 of the Trav. Copper-plate Colln. for 1098 M. E.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 Contains land symbols.

4 Symbol for கிலம்.

- 21 குக் கிழக்கு வடவெல்கை கணக்கு சங்கராபரணன் ராபன்
 22 உத்துக்கு தெற்குமாக இவை எல்கைக்கு உள்பட்ட தென்-
 23 னாந்தி வயல் தடி கஉ 1 உயிசமீம் தெ கண்ணுத்தி-
 24 ல் மாங்குளம் நடுவழிடை கலையடி நாற்றடி தடி கஉ- வத 1 ச
 25 ல் ஓ உஉ சமீம் க்கு எல்கையாவது கீழ் எல்கை அரசியார் கா-
 26 லுக்கு டெற்குத் தென்னெல்கை உலகுடய நாச்சிய-
 27 ரார் சொணை உத்துக்கு வடக்கு மெல் எல்கை மாங்குளம் கரை-
 28 க்கும் காலுக்கும் கிழக்கு வடவெல்கை உலகுடய நாச்சிய-
 29 ரார் சொணை உத்துக்கு தெற்குமாக இவை எல்கைக்கு உள்பட்ட
 30 தடி கஉ-வத 1 சல் குலை சமீம் வரகுணமங்கலம் கிழ்பால் அ-
 31 ரசியார் கால்பொக்கில் நால்பதுமாபற்றில் மணறை மாகா-
 32 னி மலையப்புரவில் இரவிமன் கடம்பறநாயர் வயல் தடி
 33 கஉ-சுளத 1 ச டிசுமீம் க்கு எல்கையாவது கீழ் எ-
 34 ல்கை பிரானுபகாரி சட்டை சிதம்பரன் உத்துக்கு
 35 மெற்கு தென்னெல்கை தம்பிரான்தொழன் சீவலக்குட்டி
 36 உத்துக்கு உம் கிழ்மெல் காலுக்கும் வடக்கு மெல் எல்கை நயி-
 37 னார் பூதனாசுவாமி உத்துக்கு கிழக்கு வடவெல்கை பூத-
 38 னாதன் ராமநாதன் உத்துக்கும் தெற்குமாக இவை எல்கைக்கு
 39 உள்பட்ட இரவிமன் கடம்பறநாயர் வயல் தடி கஉ.

Second side.

- 40 சுளக 1 நகப . . டிசுமீம் ஆக தடி நஉ
 41 சயிசமீம் க்கு ஹுக பாட்டம் ஁கொட்டை நயி¹இல் தண்மைகுறை வகைக்கு
 42 னீக்கினை ஁கொரு யும் னீக்கி வரம்படங்கல் பாட்டம் ஁கொட்டை உயிஅல்
 43 னுள் கக்கு நமக்காரம் பெர் உக்கு அரிசி நஉ-க்கு ஁ எஉ உரியும் யிரு
 44 வெஞ்ஞனம் வகைக்கு ஁ உ உரியும் பழயநமக்காரம் பெர் சும் மெறபடி
 பெர் உம் ஆக
 45 பெர் அக்கு உப்பெரிக்கு வகவச்ச ஁ உயும் ஆக னுள் க க்கு ஁- பஉஉ ஆ-
 க பெர் க க்கு அதி-
 46 கனாள் னுள் ஁காசுயிரு க்கு சிலவு நெல் கொட்டை உயி க்கு இ நஉ உ உரியும்
 47 மாதம் தொறும் திருவொணம் நமக்காரம் பெர் க க்கு வைப்பு அரிசி ப
 நஉ
 48 னும் நெய்வெத்தியம் செய்து சிலவு குடுக்குற வகக்கு வைப்பு அரிசி நஉ
 49 னும் ஆக அரிசி வறு உரிக்கு நில் உ க்கு ஁ நமீ உனும் பருப்பும் நாலு க-
 றியும் ஆக
 50 வச்சுட்டு வகக்கு வெஞ்சன சிலவு வகக்கு ஁ வறு நஉ ஁ னுக்கும் ஆக இவ-
 கைபடி திரு-
 51 வொணம் நாள் க க்கு ஁ கொட்டை பஉசஆக பெர் க க்கு ஁ம் யிஉ க்கு
 திருவொணம் யி¹.

- 52 க்கு கிலவு கொட்டை சதட்சம் ஆக நமக்காரம் திருவொணம் உள்பட்டவக
53 க்கு இவகபடி பெர் க க்கு கிலவு ஸ் கொட்டை உடிக இயக உரியும் மெ
54 கொண்டு வர சத்தக்கவிக்கு ஸ் கொட்டை சஉ ஆக ஸ் கொட்டை உடிக
55 க்கும் இந்த தானம் செய்த நிலத்தை சீபண்டாரத்தில் நின்னு-
56 ம் பாட்டம் அடைச்சு பாட்ட ஸ் பற்றிக்கொண்டு இந்த தம்ம-
57 தை பரிபாலனமாக நடத்திவருவார்களாகவும் இந்த தம்ம-
58 தை பரிபாலனம் செய்தவர்கள் சாலொக சாம்ப சாரு-
59 ப்பிய சராப்ச்சித்தை அடைவார்களாகவும் இந்த தம்மத்தை
60 விக்கினம் செய்தவர்கள் பிரம்மத்துரோகியாகவும் விண்ணு-
61 த்துரோகியாகவும் சிவத்துரோகியாகவும் பொவார்களாகவும் இப்-
62 படிச்சம்மதித்து இந்த சகிரணியோதக தானப்பிறமாணம்
63 எழுதிக்குறித்*] தொம் ராமலிங்கன் திறியள் சானகிசானியும்
64 பறுவதவற்த்தினிசானியுமொம் கிண்சேவாமி சன்னதியி-
65 ல் இப்படிக்கு ராமலிங்கன் திறியள் சானகிசானியும் பறுவந
66 வற்த்தினிசானியும் ஒப்பு [11*] இந்த தானப்பிறமாணம் கைஎழுதி-
67 ன தளிகைமரதெவர் கொயில் சன்னதி கிராமத்தில் லட்சியி-
68 நாராயண சொதிரிஷ புத்திறன் வைத்திபனாதன் எழுத்து [11*] முன்பு
69 காரயநுஸ் ஆவணிமாதம் கூஉ பூதப்பாண்டி அகரத்து
70 மாதெவன் புத்திறன் சூரியநாராயணபட்டர் உள்ளிட்டாருக்கு கல்-
71 பிச்சுகொடுத்த துலியம் சாற்த்திய தானப்பிறமாண ஒ-
72 லை க ம் யிவகைக்கு கைத்தடி ஒலை க ம் காரயநுஸ் தான
73 ஸ்சம் காற்த்திகை மாதம் ஸ் உ சூரியநாராயண உள்ளி-
74 ட்டாரொடு ஸ்ருத்க்கு ராமலிங்கபட்டர் உட்பட சறு தா-
75 னம் செய்து வாங்கின ஒலை க ம் பணம் ருத க்கு எழுதி-
76 வாங்கின அற்த்த பத்துசீட்டு க ம் ஆக ஒலை சம் கிறீபன்-
77 டாரத்தில் கையாளிக்கவும் செய்தொம் [11*] இந்த
78 உதகதானப்பிறமாண ஒலை பட்டையத்தும்ப-
79 டிக்குத் தாம்பிரபட்டையம் கைஎழுதின மெற்படி
80 ணில் யிருக்கும் சிலப்பம் அணைஞ்ச பெருமாள்
81 திருநீலகண்டன் எழுத்து [11*] மூக_{௨௪}வ_{௨௪}வி_{௨௪}த_{௨௪}ணை [11*]

No. 33.—Vadaseri inscription of Kollam 639.

This record engraved on a pillar set up in the Krishnasvāmin temple at Vadaśeri is in the Tamil language and alphabet. It registers the gift of some money by a certain Dīrgha-bhaṭṭa, an Ārya brāhmaṇa for the midday offerings to the god Rūpanārāyaṇa-viṇṇagar-Emberumāṇ and for feeding a brahman in the temple with those offerings. The astronomical details of the date of donation give the equivalent A. D. 1464, July 9.

The donor Dīrgha-bhaṭṭa who is stated to have been a *paradēsi* (foreigner) of the Antarvēdi-rājya was in all probability a northern brāhmaṇa; but it cannot be definitely said whether he was a permanent resident at Vadaśeri or whether the donation was made by him on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the holy places in

the South. Antaryōdi-rājya¹ was the ancient name of 'the tract of land between the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, regarded as a sacred region and the principal seat of Aryan brāhmanas. It is supposed to have extended from Prayāga to Haridvāra and was also know by the names of Śasasthālī and Brahmāvarta'.

Similar donations by northerners have been met with in records of the Tamil districts: the Tiruvorriyūr and Tiruvadi Śiva temples were the recipients of gifts by a Kashmir brahman² in the 12th century.

Text.³

First face.

- 1 ஸ்ரீமதி பதி [ம] கால்லா
- 2 காள நடுகல் கந்தர்வ-
- 3 ந்தகடகந்தர்வமி-
4 பதினென்ற நெ-
5 னை வந்தவரே-
6 கந்தர்வ பதி-
7 மிதந் திந்தன்
8 க்கிழவாழ [ம]ம்
9 பெற்ற உத்தர-
10 ன் [ம] நாஞ்சிநா-
11 டு எய்துபெயர்
12 டி வடபெரியா-
13 ன பதினென்ற-
14 வந்தவரே-
15 கிமங்கலந்த-
16 நயினார் உத்தர-
17 நாராயண-
18 ண்ணகர் எம்-
19 பருமான் கொ-
20 வினில் நயினா-
21 ந்த குருபர-
22 கந்தவந்தரே-

Second face.

- 23 கந்த [ம]
- 24 பருமன்-
25 களில் [ம]-
26 வந்தவரே-
27 டி வந்தவரே-
28 கந்தவந்த-

- 29 வா [ந] வந்த-
- 30 னையின்
- 31 கட்ட வை-
- 32 க்க நிவெ-
- 33 கிச்சு மரு
- 34 நந்தவந்த-
- 35 மாக மரு பி
- 36 நாராயண-
- 37 ன ஊட்டு-
- 38 படி கந்திந்த
- 39 இவர்க்கு நாள் க
- 40 க்கு அமுது படி
- 41 உவ க்கு -
- 42 டு. எம்மு-
- 43 ரம் [ம] உப்பு அமு-
- 44 க்கு - உரி
- 45 ஆக -

Third face.

- 46 டு. உரி [ம]ம்
- 47 ஆக ம [ம] வந்த க க்கு -
- 48 கள உத -
- 49 ஆக
- 50 ஆண்டு க க்கு மிக்க
- 51 நாள் க க்கு மாக
- 52 மீ உ-
- 53 க்கு நூற்று-
- 54 க்கு மூன்று
- 55 கொட்டை -
- 56 ல்லு கிழக்காடு
- 57 உய்யம் -

1 गङ्गायामुनयोर्मध्यदेशः । आप्रयागहरिद्वारपर्यन्तदेशः । ब्रह्मवर्तदेशः । तत्पर्यायः शशस्थली ॥

—Saddakalpadruma, Vol. I, p. 54.

एते भगवत्यौ भूमिदेवानां मूलमायतनमन्तर्वेदिपूर्वेण कलिन्दकन्यामन्दाकिन्यौ संगच्छेते ।

—Anargharāghava, 7 (Apte)

2 Madras Epig. Repr for 1922, p. 193.

3 Registered as No. 66 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1984 m. v.

4 This is not understood.

58	ண்டு நடத்தும்ப-	78	஁ று ம் ஆக
59	டி கற்பித்து இ-	79	஁ றா ம் சூ-
60	துக்கு ஁ சாரூம்	80	அறு[த*]றா முறாம-
61	ம் சருவத்துக்கு	81	ல நடக்கும்படி
62	஁ உம் ஆக	82	கற்பித்து திரு-
63	஁ சாரூம் ம-	83	ப்படியில் உடி-
64	ரதம் கக்கு இ-	84	கம் செய்து உடி[க*]-
65	லையமுது அ-	85	வலுவூக இப்-
66	டைக்காயமு-	86	பணம் அஞ்ஞாறு-
	<i>Fourth jace.</i>	87	ம உலையம் டெ-
67	துக் ஁ ஁ வ ம	88	காண்டொ மிக்கு-
68	சந்தனக-	89	காயிலில் கடிடி-
69	ரப்புக்கு ஁ வ	90	கனம் உள்வாரி-
70	ம் நெய்யமு-	91	யஞ் செய்வாரனம்
71	துக்கு ஁ வம் க-	92	பரஜெஸிகனம் சூ-
72	றியமுதுக்கு	93	அறுறாரம் முறாம-
73	஁ வ ம் அக ஁	94	ல் நடக்கும்படிக்கு டி-
74	க க்கு மாஸம்	95	வடிவட்டனென் று-
75	க க்கு பஸிசை	96	பநாராயண விண்ணகர் எ-
76	கொண்டு ந-	97	ம்பெருமானுக்கு [11*]
77	டக்கும்படிக்கு		

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 11th day of the month of Kaṛṇāṭaka in the Kollam year 639, which corresponded to a Monday, Uttiram, fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight, the provision made as charity by Dīrgha-bhaṭṭar, an Ārya immigrant from Antarvēdi-rājya, for feeding one brahman daily with the food offered to the god during the midday-service in the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa-viṇṇagar-Emberumāṇ of Vaḍaṣeri *alias* Śrīmat Ādityavarma-chaturvēdīnaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Nāñjināḍu is as follows:—

For 2 *nāḷi* of rice, 5 *nāḷi* of paddy and for salt, 1 *uri* of paddy,—in all 5 *nāḷi* and one *uri* of paddy for one day, *i. e.*, 1 *kalam* 2 *tūṇi* 5 *nāḷi* for a month and 12 *kōṭṭai* of paddy for a year inclusive of the excess of 6 days. With this, the charity had to be conducted.

For this, 430 *paṇam* at the rate of 3 *kōṭṭai* for 100 (*paṇam*) and 20 *paṇam* for a (*śaruvam*) brass pot,—in all, 450 *paṇam* (was given):

$\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for betel leaf and arecanut offering, $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for sandal-paste, $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for ghee, and $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for vegetables: *i. e.*, for one *paṇam* which was to be obtained as interest per month, 50 *paṇam* (was given);

i. e., in all, 500 *paṇam* (was given), and the charity had to be conducted unremittingly till the moon and the stars (last).

We, the temple servants, supervisors¹ and *paradēsis*² received this 500 *pa-*

1 The meaning of *uḷvāriyam-ṣeyvār* is 'officers in charge of the internal supervision of the temple'. *Aṇappoduvaḷ* of earlier records in northern Travancore is analogous to it.

2 The meaning of *paradēsi* in this instance need not necessarily refer to other Aryan immigrants, but may signify East Coast brahmins in charge of the temple management or simply mendicants.

nam with libation of water on the temple threshold, (and agreed) to Dīrgha-bha-
tān to conduct (the charity) to (the god) Rūpanārāyaṇa-viṇṇagar-Emberumāṇ,
till (so long as) the moon and stars (endure).

No. 34—Inscription in Krishnankoyil.

This inscription which is engraved on the east base of the flagstaff in front of the Krishṇasvāmin temple at Krishṇankōyil, records that the staff was installed by a certain Gaṇapati, a resident of Kuḷattūr in Kollam 945: A. D. 1770, May 7.

Text.¹

- 1 உகாசுடு ஹு விசுறுதிவருஷம் சித்திரையாதம் உயிவு திங்கழக்கழ-
மையும் சித்திரைநட்சத்திரமும் பூமி-
- 2 வபட்சத்து சூயொதெசியும சித்திராமயொகமும் பன்றிக்காணமும் இந்த-
சுபதினத்தில் துசப்ததிட்டை த[று]மம்
- 3 குளத்தூரான் கணபதி சதாசெர்வை உ

Translation.

In the (Kollam) year 945, (which corresponded to the cyclic year) Vikṛiti,
on the 28th day of the month of Chittirai, which was a Monday and the 13th
(lunar) *tithi* of the first fortnight, with nakshatra Chitrā, Siddha-yōga and Paṇṇi
karāṇa—on this auspicious day, the charitable (act of) setting up of the flag (-staff)
was (done as) the service of Gaṇapati of Kuḷattūr.

No. 35—Fragmentary Records of the same place.

The other three inscriptions of this temple are fragments, of which two give
the Kollam years 548 and 708 respectively, while the third has neither beginning
nor end, but seems to have formed part of a record relating to some provision for
the feeding of twelve brahmans on *dvādaśi* days. The texts of the dated frag-
ments are however given below, as they may be found useful at some later date.

The king mentioned in the first record is apparently Ādityavarman Sarvā-
ṅganātha, while the king of the other record is Veṅṇumaṅkoṇḍa Udayamārttāṇḍa-
varman. Their names are traceable only in part in these inscriptions.

No. 67 of 1084.

- 1 ஷஷி மீ கொல்லம் றாசுயி ஹு யனூராயற்று உயி சென்ற நாள் . . .
- 2 ஷச்சது வெஃழிமங்கலத்து திருக்கடவூர் யஜுநாராயண ஸ்ட
- 3 தஜவஃத்திருவடி கொயிற்கன்மிகள் தன்மதானமாகக்குடுத்த

No. 70 of 1084.

- 1 ஷஷி மீ அருளிச்செயல் கொல்லம் ளாசி ஹு காத்திகை

- 2 சங்கராசாரயண வென்முமன்கொண்டபூதலவிர
- 3 சங்கரவயாபிள் அரியன் சொக்கன் பெரியபெருமாள்

No. 36 —Trivandrum Museum Inscription of Kollam 839.

Regarding this inscription, the following note has been made in the *Annual Report on Archaeology for 1896 M. E.*:-

It states that Īchebanum-ādikutṭṭiyuma and Ayyappaṇ-Mārttāṇḍaṇ of Śeruvilaivīḍu in Chirayinkīl deśam were granted the land called Śeriyarāṇṇivīlai in Neyyāttīṅkarai-deśam. On this gift-land in Neyyāttīṅkarai, they built a *kal-maṭṭam* and *ambalan*, i. e., a shed for travellers and a shrine. For the expenses connected with the consecration ceremony, for the performance of worship of the god Achārappillai and for the proper upkeep of the flower-garden attached to the shed, certain house-site gardens and lands were assigned by the donors. A list of them is given. Among the lands so granted there were two, of which portions of income had been previously assigned to two temples and the balance only was available for the present grant. These two temples are Rāmēśvarattu-Mahāḍēva and Kāṇḍālūr-sālai-Mahāḍēva. The slab on which this inscription is engraved, as well as another bearing inscription No. 2 of Appendix B, which are now preserved in the Trivandrum Museum, appear to have been brought from some place near Neyyāttīṅkarai and Kulittuṇai, as their contents indicate. The former being from Neyyāttīṅkarai, Kāṇḍālūr-sālai mentioned in it is probably identical with Kāṇḍālūr, situated 6 or 7 miles from Neyyāttīṅkarai. Kāṇḍālūr is repeatedly referred to in Chōla inscriptions, where it also occurs in the contracted form Sālai. Earlier references to Kāṇḍālūr are found in a copper-plate record of the Āy chief Karunanda-dakkaṇ (=866 A. D.) and the Śendalai pillar epigraph of the 8th century A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 137). Chēra kings maintained a powerful fleet at this place as well as at Talaikkūḷam and Karaikkāṇḍīśvaram, and several attempts were made by neighbouring kings to destroy them. Successive Chōla sovereigns from the time of Rājarāja I claim to have cut off ships at Kāṇḍālūr-sālai which, as we have noted already, was shortened into Sālai. Rājādhirāja I is another of the Chōla kings, who claims to have destroyed the ships at Kāṇḍālūr. His long introductions refer to the event by the phrase “Kāṇḍālūr-sālaikalam-aṟutta”. His Ka-nyākumāri inscription, like many others, summarises briefly his military achievements thus:—“*Vīra-Pāṇḍiyaṇ-talaiyūṇ Śēralaṇ-Sālaiyūṇ Ilaṅgaiyūṇ taṇḍāl-koṇḍa*”. The clause means “he who by means of his army took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the Sālai of the Chēra king and Laṅka”. This introduction makes it plain that Sālai is the name of a place and not a common noun meaning a ‘charity institution’. The employment of the words ‘*taṇḍāl-koṇḍa*’ ‘who took by means of his army,’ and the combination of them with Vīra Pāṇḍya’s head and Laṅkā would preclude the assignment of any other meaning. In this connection, it may be noted that two other inscriptions, not dated in any particular king’s reign, mention “*Karaikkāṇḍīśvarattu kalam-aṟra yāṇḍa*” and “*Talaikkūḷattu kalam-aṟru yāṇḍu*”. These have been wrongly connected (*vide. Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II, p. 2) with Rājarāja I; but there is not the least warrant for this, as neither ‘Sālai’ nor ‘Rājarāja’ is mentioned in these records.

Text.¹

First face.

- 1 ஓம் கெணபதெ நம [I*]
- 2 தனுவில் வியாழம்
- 3 நின்ற கொல்லம்²
- 4 அரநகெடு சித்தி-
- 5 ரை மாதம் நட செ
- 6 ன்ற வியாழவாச்-
- 7 சயும் சித்திரையும்
- 8 சூர்வபக்கிழத்து பவு-
- 9 ரணியும் யினனா-
- 10 ால் சிறமின்கிழதெ-
- 11 சத்து செலுவள்ளி-
- 12 வீட்டில் ஈச்சம்மா-
- 13 திருட்டியும் கணக்கு அய்ய[ப*]-
- 14 பன் மாதத்தாண்டனு-
- 15 கூட நெய்யாற்றங்க-
- 16 ரெ தெசத்து மாநாவி-
- 17 யில் செறியதாநி வி-
- 18 னைக்கு மூத்த தம்புரான்
- 19 திருவுள்ளம்பற்றி க-
- 20 ல்பிச்சு தந்த திருமு-
- 21 கத்தின்படி ஒள்ள செ
- 22 வினையில் கல்மடமு[ம*]
- 23 கல்லம்பலவும் கெட்டி-
- 24 ச்சு செ ஹு பங்குனி-²[ம]-
- 25 ச கெல[ச]மாடுகயில்
- 26 செ மடத்தில் தலைசெழ-
- 27 காறராக வாற திருபெ-
- 28 ரு ருமபரதெசி நீராக-
- 29 ரத்துக்கும் ஆசாரமி[ள்*]ன-
- 30 யாரையும் பூசித்து நந்-
- 31 தவன பணிவிடையும்
- 32 செய்திருக்கிற பண்ட[ர*]-
- 33 ரத்துக்கு ம[ற்]றும் மிடை ப-
- 34 ட்ட பல சிலவுக்கும் திருவி-
- 35 ளக்கு எண்ண[ய] ள்-
- 36 பட்ட பணிவகைக்கு[ம*]
- 37 கூட உதகபூர்வ த-
- 38 மமதான பட்டயமாக
- 39 சந்திராதித்தர் வரை-
- 40 க்கு நடக்கும் படிக்கு

1 Registered as No. 3 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

2 The date corresponds to A. D. 1664, March 31.

Second face.

- 41 சிலாலிகத்-
 42 மாக நாம் வி-
 43 ட்டு குடுத்த நீ-
 44 ங்களும் புரெ-
 45 யடங்ளும்-
 46 ராவன [11*] திரு
 47 முகத்தின்ம் 11-
 48 [டி கடம] அடக்க
 49 வெண்டின
 50 செறியதாநி
 51 விளை யுள்ளி-
 52 ட்ட புரெயடங்-
 53 னுக்கும் ஷெ விளை-
 54 யிலும் பிற கரி-
 55 யிலும் குடக-
 56 [ருசவ] ங்கழு-
 57 டய வாணுய-
 58 திருத்தின் தாநி-
 59 யம் யுள்ளிட்ட
 60 தடி பல உருள-
 61 வும் நயினார் [ரா]டு-
 62 மசுரத்து மாடு-
 63 த[வ]ர் பற்றில் நி-
 64 ந்து கடம அடக்க
 65 காராமயாக
 66 விட்டு தந்தன-
 67 . பிலாவிளை-
 68 யும் ஷெல் கீழ்பி-
 69 தத்து வெட்டித்தி-
 70 ருத்து தடி ஒன்-
 71 று உரு-பம் எங்-
 72 கள் தாய்ம-
 73 ரார் சிரிதன-
 74 ம் பெற்றுடை-
 75 யொ மாயி
 76 ஆண்டனு-
 77 பவித்து வருகி-
 78 ற மாநாலி[யி]-
 79 ல் பெருவழி-
 80 க்கு தென் பிற-
 81 ங் கண்டலில்
 82 [ரா]டுமசுரத்து

Third face.

- 83 மாடுதவர்க்கு அஞ்சுகொ-
 84 ன்று வார[ம்*]பெரகவெண்-

- 85 கும் வலியவயல் உள்ளிட்ட
 86 தடி எ உ ள நடுவும் [கொ]-
 87 ல்லயில் மாங்குளத்தின் கி-
 88 ழ் மஞ்ஞற்கு கு உயி [ம்] அ-
 89 யிக்கா வட்டத்து புதுகளுத்தி-
 90 ள் கீழ் [எ] ரிச்சிலற தடி க
 91 உ உ-ம் ஷெதடி உ கார் எற்-
 92 ருசரிருத்தியும் மஞ்ஞற்-
 93 . . . கடமயும் பொன்னும்
 94 ஒணங்கொட்டு எண-
 95 யொன் குளத்தின் கீழ்
 96 குளத்தற தடி க உ யபம் ருசு-
 97 ந் கண்டம் உ சபம் வித்து-
 98 கொள்ளி உ எபம் . ஷெ
 99 தடி க உ பம் எள்ளல் தடி
 100 உ-உ-பரு காயடி தடி உ உ
 101 . . . ருமள மெச்சன் உ அப
 102 வள்ளிவாற்ற உ- பம் குள-
 103 வடி தடி உ உ உபயும் புளிய-
 104 டி தடி உ உ உபயும் மெக்குதடு-
 105 ர புவச்ச [பு]ரெயடத்தில்
 106 பாதியும் ஷெ சாயல் புளி-
 107 யடி தலெபுரெயடத்தி-
 108 னு வடக்கு கிழக்குதரெ வி-
 109 த்துநொள்ளி வயல் தடு-
 110 ல புரெயடத்தினு வட-
 111 க்கு நீர்ச்சருவுக்கும்
 112 அகத்து அகபட்ட கரப்-
 113 புரெயடத்துளில் பாதி-
 114 யும் ஆலத்தூர் தெசத்து ச-
 115 ரப்புகாட்டில் குளத்தின் கீ-
 116 ழ் காந்தளூர் சாலை ம-
 117 ரதெவர்க்கு வாரம் பொக
 118 வெண்டு மருதற தடி க உ
 119 மெ பம் செறிய புளியடி
 120 தடி க உ ரு பம் புத்தற தடி க உ
 121 ரு பம் கொணத்து தடி க உ
 122 க பம் தெக்கெப்புத்தற தடி க உ
 123 சபம் கானக்கொட்டு

Fourth face.

- 124 செறுகொட்டு
 125 புரெயடங்களு [ஆ*]
 126 கயிவ்வக [தடி]
 127 பல உயகளய
 128 கபம் யிந்த பு-
 129 ரெயடங்களு [ம்*]
 130 கூட மடப்பிறம-

- 131 ரக் சந்திராகித்-
 132 தர் வரெக் கும்
 133 தம்மம் நடக்கும்-
 134 படி விட்டுக்குடு-
 135 த்து [||:] யிந்த மட த-
 136 த்ம்ம நடந்து வ-
 137 ருமிடத்து யாத-
 138 ரமொருவர் யி-
 139 ந்த மடத்துக்கும் நி
 140 லங்களுக்குப் பு
 141 ரெயடங்களு
 142 க்கும் அசுதம் டெ
 143 சப்தபெர்க-
 144 ள் தங்கள் மா-
 145 தா பிதாவை டெ-
 146 கான்ற தொழி-
 147 த்திலும் பிறும-
 148 ணரை கொன்-
 149 ற தொழ்த்திலு-
 150 ம் கெங்கைக-
 151 ரயில் காரும்-
 152 பசுவை கொ-
 153 ன்ற தொழ்த்தி-
 154 ல் பொவாராக-
 155 வும் யிந்த தம்ம-
 156 த்துக்கு அனுக-
 157 லம் செய்ப-
 158 வர்கள் பாடு-
 159 மசுரனுடைய
 160 பாதாரவிந்-
 161 தத்தில் செர்-
 162 வாராகவும் [||*]
 163 ஸுஹவஸு

Translation.

Om ! Adoration to Gaṇapati !

The following are the lands and *puraiyidams* which we, Ayyappaṇ-Mārtandan and Iḥchammādikkuṭṭiyuma of Cheruvallivīḍu in Chirayinkīl-deśam, assigned—on this day, *i.e.*, after three days of the month of Chittirai of the Kollam year 839, when Jupiter was in Dhanus, and which corresponded to Thursday, the Chitrā-nakshatra and the full-moon *tithi*,—as a charitable gift followed by libation of water, to last as long as the moon and the sun endure, and we had the gift engraved on stone, for supplying water to strangers, for the *paṇḍāram* who conducts the worship of the god Āchārappillaiyār and does the service of maintaining the flower-garden and for other incidental expenses, as well as for the money required for the expenses of supplying oil to sacred lamps to be kept in the stone shrine,

built and consecrated on the 14th day of Paṅguṇi in the said year, in the Śeṛiyatānnivīlai of Māñāli in the village of Neyyāttinkarai, according to the royal order which the reigning king¹ had been pleased to grant to us:—

The gardens and other lands comprised in Śeṛiyatānnivīlai, which had been obtained by us inclusive of *kaḍamai* according to royal order:—

land of 3 *kalam* comprised in many *taḍis* in Vāṇiyatiruttu of . . . :

Pilāvīlai, situated in the holdings of the temple of Rāmēśvarattu-mādēvar with the right of enjoyment of *kārāṇmai* and *kaḍamai*;

the land called Veṭṭitiruttu (having the sowing capacity) of three *kurunī* comprised in one *taḍi*, situated to the east of the above;

the middle portion of the land called Valiyavayal and some other lands (having the sowing capacity) of 2 *kalam* comprised in seven *taḍi*, situated on the southern side of the high road in Māñāli, which had been under our enjoyment, having been obtained by our maternal relations as *strīdhana*, exclusive of one in five of the *vāram* assigned already to the temple of Rāmēśvarattu-mādēva;

the land called Maññārakara, measuring 10 *para*, comprised in a *taḍi* and situated to the east of the tank named Kollayil-māṅguḷam;

the land called Erichchilara (having the sowing capacity) of 10 *nāḷi* comprised in one *taḍi* to the east of the tank of Pudukkuḷam.

the *kaḍama* and gold from Errāsarivirutti, Maññara :

the land called Kuḷattara to the east of Enayōṅkuḷam in Oṇaṅgōḍu, measuring 10 *para*, comprised in one *taḍi*;

. kaṇḍam, (having the sowing capacity) of 4 *kurunī*;

Vittukolli, (having the sowing capacity) of 7 *kurunī* and another of 2 *kurunī*;

Vallal, measuring 1 *kurunī*, comprised in two *taḍi*;

Kāyaḍi, measuring . . . , comprised in two *taḍi*;

Maḷamechchan, measuring 8 *kurunī*;

Vaḷḷivāraṇa, measuring 1 *kurunī*;

Kuḷavaḍi, measuring 2 *kurunī*, comprised in two *taḍi*;

Puḷiyaḍi measuring 2 *kurunī*, comprised in two *taḍi*;

half of Mekkuttara Pūvachcha-purayaḍam;

half of the land measuring 3 *kurunī* situated to the north of Puḷiyaḍi-talaippuraiyaḍam, to the north of Viṭṭukolḷivayal-talaippuraiyaḍam and the lands *karaippuraiyaḍam* included in the water course;

the land called Marudara situated to the east of the tank of Sarappukkāḍu in the village of Ālattūr, measuring 12 *kurunī* comprised in one *taḍi*, obtained exclusive of the *vāram* assigned to the temple of Kāṇḍalūrśālai-mahādēva;

Śeṛiyapuḷiyaḍi, measuring 5 *kurunī* comprised in one *taḍi*,

Puttara, measuring 5 *kurunī* comprised in one *taḍi*;

Kōṇam, measuring 1 *kurunī* comprised in one *taḍi*;

1 The Mūtta-Tambirāṇ is probably Vīra Ravi-Ravivarmān.

Tekkepputtara, measuring 4 *kurumi* comprised in one *tadī*;
the *puraiyidams* of Serukōḍu in Kaṇakkōḍu;

Thus, in all, land measuring 11 *kalam* and 11 *kurumi* comprised in many *tadīs*.

These *puraiyidams* also were assigned towards the requirements of the shed, so that the charity may be conducted as long as the moon and the sun endure.

While the charity relating to this shed is being conducted, if any one should cause evil to this shed, and to these lands and *puraiyidams*, he shall incur the sin of killing his mother and father, the sin of killing Brāhmanas and the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges. Those who act in favour of this charity, shall attain the lotus feet of Paramēśvara. Be it well!

No. 37—Trivandrum Museum Inscription of Kollam 957.

This Tamil inscription is engraved on a slab now preserved in the Government Museum at Trivandrum; but it must have belonged to Kuḷitturai.

It is dated in Kollam 957 and states that a private individual named Pich-chai-Pillai Kaṇnam-Pillai of Mañjaviḷāgam house in the village of Kuḷitturai constructed a shed to the east of the market, sunk a well, fitted it with a water-cistern in stone, and made a gift of land. Arrangements were made to refresh men and animals passing on the way. Men were employed at the shed to see that the cistern was kept filled with water at all times, so that jaded animals may quench their thirst. Travellers were also offered cool or hot water for drinking, pickles to eat, chunam for chewing and torches to help them in their night journey. It is stated that arrangements were also made to see that ropes and *pālai* (palmyrah leaf basket) were kept ready always for drawing water from the well and that the shed was properly roofed, and kept tidy all through the year. This private charity speaks for itself and needs no comment. Other similar inscriptions show that there were similar rest-houses maintained, affording comfort to travellers on the roads at Nattālam, Arrūr, Pudūr and Mayilōḍu near Tiruvidāṅgōḍu. The *ambalam* at Mayilōḍu supplied way-farers with buttermilk also. It is enough to say that these free refreshment stages existed at short intervals on main roads of traffic to give shelter to, and to relieve considerably the fatigue of travellers, in those pre-railway days when pedestrianism and carts were the only modes of travel.

It may be noticed that although the script employed is Tamil, the language which is mainly Tamil is interspersed with a few Malayalam expressions and forms. The English equivalent of the date of the record is A. D. 1782, July 22.

Text.¹

- 1 தனுஷில் வியாளம்
- 2 நின்ற கொல்லம் கூர்-
- 3 ருமேனா ஆடி மாத-
- 4 ம் பத்து சென்ற தி-
- 5 ங்களாட்சையும் மூலவும்
- 6 பூரபட்சத்து திறையொடு-
- 7 தகியும் இன்னொளல் குளு-
- 8 த்துறை தெசத்து மஞ்சவி-

1 Registered as No. 2 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

- 9 ளாகத்து வீட்டில் பிச்சப்பிள்-
 10 னை கன்னம்பிள்ளை மெல்-
 11 ப்படி தெசத்து பழபசந்-
 12 தயில் கிளக்கெப்பி-
 13 றத்தில் அம்பலவும் கெ-
 14 ட்டி கிணறும் வெட்டி-
 15 தொட்டியும் அடிச்சித்-
 16 டு தொட்டியில் வெள்ளங்
 17 கொரிவிக்கவும் சாலி-
 18 ல் குடி வெள்ளம் கொரிவி-
 19 டவும் வென்னீர் ஊறுகாய்
 20 குடுக்கவும் சுண்ணாம்பு
 21 வெண்டி இடவும் பாளையும் கய-
 22 றும் வகைக்கும் ஷே அம்பலம் ஒ-
 23 ல கெட்டு வகைக்கும் நடக்கா-
 24 வு தூட்சிக்கவும்¹ இந்த வகைக-
 25 ள் எ[ல்லா]ம் நடத்தி வருகி-
 26 ற பண்டாரங்களுக்கு நி-
 27 லவும் புரயெடமும் செம்மம் செ-
 28 [ந]டிவட்டுருக்க வகை பா-
 29 கொடு தெசத்து மெக்கின்-
 30 ன்கரை மெலெ வீட்டு

Second face.

- 31 மெலவீட்டு விளாக
 32 புரயிடத்தி [எய ரப்]² கரசை
 33 வெண்டி சிலவீட்டுக் கெ-
 34 ள்ளாவாரா கவும் [1*] இந்த எ-
 35 ளுத்தின்படி உள்ள தற்மம்
 36 களியும் நடத்திவருகிற பண்-
 37 டாரங்களுக்கு நிலவும் பு-
 38 ரயடவும் செம்மம் செ[ந]டி[வி]-
 39 ட்டிக் குடுத்தவகை ஆண்-
 40 டுகொடு தெசத்து அ[ளில்ல]-
 41 கொட்டு கொணத்து ராதி-
 42 ரியான்குளத்தாலும்
 43 தெவன்குளத்தாலும் கிள்-
 44 வெங்கெறெ தடி க நிலம்
 45 [சு ப] ஷே தெசத்து வெங்கெ-
 46 ரங்குளத்தின் கிள் படப்பற
 47 தடி க நிலம் ஈ ப[மு]வன்னு-
 48 தெசத்து சுரப்பாலைக்குளத்தி-
 49 ன்கிள் ஊளாற தடி க நி-
 50 லம் எப டு உ-ம் வயல்கலக்க
 51 ல் நிக்கும் தெற்கு ஈ-ம் புன்னை
 52 க ம் ஆக தடி ஈ நிலம் கள சபநு-

1 This word is a variant of ஊறுக்கவும்.

2 Probably எழுபதரை.

- 53 வந் தெங்கு ந-ம் புன்னை க-ம்
 54 ஷை அம்பலத்து வடக்கு ப்[கிற]த்து
 55 விளா[க*]த்தி[ல்] இருக்கிற விடு-
 56 ம் விளாக விருட்சங்க-
 57 ளும் பஞ்சக்கடயில் தெக்கெ-

Third face.

- 58 விளாகம் புர-
 59 படத்தினு [நாலெ]-
 60 ல்கை கீ[ளெ]-
 61 ல்லை அரசன்-
 62 செரி விளாக-
 63 த்தினும் மெக்கு [தென்]-
 64 னல்ல இடலை-
 65 க்குந் வடக்கு மெ[லெ]-
 66 ல்லை தாளக்-
 67 [கொ]டு புரயிடத்தி-
 68 னும் கிளக்கு வ-
 69 டவல்லை நாவறெ-
 70 விளாகத்தினு-
 71 ம் தெக்கு இவெ(ள்)-
 72 ல்கை நடுவில்
 73 கிடந்த மெலெ-
 74 ட்டு விளாகம்
 75 புரையிடத்தினு
 76 (ஸ்) க-க்கு பாட்ட ஸ்
 77 யெல் தனங்க-
 78 ரம் ஸ் கஇ-யும் நீ-
 79 க்கி ஸ் யஇ-க்கும் கி-
 80 லவு ஷை அம்பல-
 81 ம் ஓலகட்டு வ-
 82 கைக்கு ஸ் கூ-ம்
 83 பாளையும் கயறு-
 84 க்கும் ஸ் உ-ம் சு-
 85 ண்ணை[ம் பு]-
 86 க்கு ஸ் கஇ-யும் ஊ-
 87 றுகாயி [வகை]க்கு
 88 ம[ரக] சரி வழிபொ-
 89 க்கிக்கு குட்டுக்கு-
 90 டிக்கிறவகைக்கு ஸ் க-
 91 ம் ஆக இந்த வகைக்கு டெ-
 92 சலவு ஸ் யஇ-யும் இது-

Fourth face.

- 93 [வு] ந் தெழிக்கா-
 94 வ விட்டில் பொ-
 95 கம் உடமயாக
 96 அனுபவிச்சு-
 97 கொண்டு எளு-
 98 தின பிற(ா)காற-

- 99 ம் தற்மம் [ந]டப்[டி]-
 100 வைக்[க]உம ச-
 101 றுவகார்யமு
 102 தருமம் நடத்திக்
 103 கொள்ளுவாரா-
 104 கவும் இந்தப்படி த-
 105 ற்மம் நடந்துவரவெ
 106 எதொரு காலவும யா¹ -
 107 தா ஒருத்த ஆகி-
 108 லும் தற்மத்து-
 109 க்கு விக்கினம் வரு-
 110 த்தின பெர்கள்
 111 இ[ந்த] தற்மம் மு-
 112 டக்கின பாவம்
 113 [ஏ]ற்றுக்கொ-
 114 ள்ளவான-
 115 கவும் இந்தப்-
 116 படி தம்மதிச்-
 117 ச ஷை அம்பல-
 118 த்துக்கு இந்த வரு-
 119 ம்படி எல்லாம்
 120 தானமாக ஆ-
 121 செந்திரகாலமெ
 122 தந்தெதிப்பிற-
 123 தெசமெ கல்லு
 124 வெட்டி நாட்டிசு-
 125 தெத்த பிச்சி-
 126 ன்ளை கன்ன-
 127 ம் பிள்ளை கு-
 128 மரசுவாமி துணை [11*]

Translation.

On this day tenth, expired, in the month of Ādi of the Kollam year 957, when Jupiter stood in Dhanus, (and which corresponded to) Monday, the Mūla- (nakshatra), and the thirteenth (*tiṭhi*) of the first fortnight, Pichchappillai-Kaṇṇam-pillai of Mañjavilāgam house in the village of Kulitturai built a shed, dug a well, made a water-cistern on the eastern side of the old market in the said village, and assigned the following lands and house-site gardens and money for drawing water and filling up the cistern, for drawing drinking water and keeping it in a pot (*śāl*), for supplying hot-water and pickles, for giving chunam, for keeping a palm-leaf basket and rope, for thatching the shed with palm-leaves, for supervising the shrine Naḍakkāvu in it, for the *paṇḍāram* and who had to manage these arrangements:—

1 The syllables வரவெ are entered below the line.

2 The letters 'வும் யா' are engraved below the line.

seventy and half *kāśu* shall be obtained from the house-site garden of Melavīṭṭu-*vilāgam* situated in Mēkkinṅkarai in the village of Pakōḍu and used for expenses.

The following are the lands, gardens and money, assigned for the *paṇ-
dārams* who have to conduct the charities mentioned in this written deed:—

land (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kurunī* comprised in one *taḍi* in Kīlveṅgarai, fed by water from Dēvaṅkuḷam and Pādiriyāṅkuḷam and situated in Aḷillakōṭṭu-kōṇam forming part of the village of Aṇḍukōḍu;

land (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kurunī* comprised in one *taḍi* in Paḍappaṛa under the tank of Veṅgaraṅkuḷam and situated in the same village;

land having the sowing capacity of 7 *kurunī* and 5 *nāḷi* comprised in one *taḍi* in Uḷāra under the tank of Śurappālaikuḷam and situated in Muvannudēśam;

3 cocoanut trees and 1 *puṇṇai* tree standing on the land called Vayal-kalakkal;—

all together, (the portions assigned) are 3 *taḍi* of land having the sowing capacity of 1 *kalam* 4 *kurunī* and 5 *nāḷi*, three cocoanut trees and one *puṇṇai*.

The house situated in the *vilāgam* on the northern side of the shed together with the trees standing in the same *vilāgam* (were) also (given).

The four boundaries of Tekkivīḷāgam-*purayidam* of Paṇjukkāḍai (given to this) are:—

The eastern boundary is to the west of Araṣaṅseri-*vilāgam*: the southern boundary is to the north of Iḍalai: the western boundary is to the east of Tāḷaga-kōḍu-*purayidam*: and the northern boundary is to the south of Nāvarai-*vilāgam*.

Out of the annual *pāṭṭam* money *viz.*, 12 *paṇam* due on the Melavīṭṭu-*vilāgam-purayidam* lying within the above named four boundaries, after deducting 1½ *paṇam* for, the expenses for the remaining 10½ *paṇam* are:—

6 *paṇam* for thatching the said shed with palm-leaves:

2 *paṇam* for palm-leaf baskets and rope;

1½ *paṇam* for chunam and for pickles; and

1 *paṇam* for supplying wayfarers with torches:

thus the 10½ *paṇam* are for these items of expenses.

Thus shall the incomes from Telikkāvu-vīḍu be rightfully enjoyed and the charities mentioned in this written deed conducted. If, while the charities are being conducted in this manner, any one should at any time, cause obstruction to this charity, he shall incur the sin of having stopped this charity. Thus agreeing, Pichchaippillai-Kaṇṇampillai assigned all these incomes as free gift to the said shed, so that they may last as long as the moon exists and be enjoyed in succession. This was caused to be engraved on a stone and (the latter) was ordered to be set up.

No. 38—Pudur inscription of the year 836.

This inscription is engraved on a pillar in a *maṇḍapa* at Puduvūr, a hamlet of Tiruvidāṅgōḍu. It is in the Tamil language and characters.

Text.¹

1	அரமே-	40	தண்-
2	சுருதை	41	ணீரு-
3	[மீ]செஉ பள்-	42	ம் தீயு-
4	ளிச்சை ந-	43	ம் முட்-
5	ச்சுரன் ந-	44	டா-
6	ச்சுரன் செ-	45	மெ-
7	விசச அம்-	46	ல் இ-
8	பல-	47	ருந்-
9	த்துக்-	48	து ந-
10	கு மெ-	49	த்தி
11	ல் ப-	50	வித-
12	டி ய-	51	த்து க-
13	ரன்	52	ட[னீ]ம-
14	உடப்-	53	யும்
15	பிறந்-	54	இறு-
16	தாள்	55	த்து
17	நாச்-	56	யா-
18	சியா	57	விச்-
19	ராசு-	58	சு டெ-
20	ந்தம-	59	காள்-
21	மை	60	வரா-
22	தா-	61	ரக-
23	னம்	62	வும்
24	குடு-	63	உடு-
25	தத நி-	64	ப்பா-
26	லம்	65	ன்
27	புது-	66	ஆ-
28	ஆர்	67	ண்-
29	குள-	68	டு ஒ-
30	த்து கீ-	69	ன்று-
31	ள் மு-	70	க்கு [மூ]-
32	ருக்க-	71	ன்-
33	றை	72	று ப-
34	உ ப-	73	ண
35	யும்	74	வு
36	சந்த-	75	ம்
37	தி பி-	76	ஹ-
38	றவெ-	77	நி[ஹ*]
39	சுமெ		

Translation.

To the shed (*ambalam*), built by Ichchuran-Ichchuran of Pallichchai on the 14th day of the month of Tai in the year 826, Nāchchiyār-Āśundammai the uterine sister of the above person, made a gift of the land called Murukkarai (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kurunī* (of seed) situated to the east the tank at

Puduvūr, so that water and fire (perhaps torches) may be kept up without default and the land enjoyed in succession, paying the usual taxes. (She also gave) three *paṇam* for the clothing required annually. Hari !

Inscriptions at Tiruvidaikkodu.

Tiruvidaikkōḍu which is a small hamlet about three miles to the east of Padmanābhapuram contains an old Śiva temple with a shrine of Śāstā also located within the same building. In the south *prākāra* of this temple lies embedded a rough boulder of rock and on it have been engraved the records relating to the temple grants. Two of the earliest of these belonging to the Āy king Kōkkanandadakkaṇ (A. D. 855) of the 9th century A. D., and two other Vaṭṭeḷuttu epigraphs² of about the 10th and 11th centuries have already been published. From them, it is evident that the temple dates from at least the third quarter of the 9th century. Local tradition derives the name of the temple from *tīru*=beautiful or sacred, *viḍai*=bull (Nandi), and *kōḍu*=hill top and Tiruvidaikkōḍu may then be considered as synonymous with Vṛishabhādri; but the real name is Iḍaikkōḍu and occurs as such in the temple's inscriptions.³

The subjoined are the other inscriptions found in the temple, either engraved on the rock referred to above, or on detached stone slabs set up in the temple compound. The *śūru-maṇḍapa* round the central shrine appears to have either been erected or renovated in Kollam 769 and its pillars contain the names of their respective donors.

No. 39—Record of Ravi-Ravivarman of Kollam 548.

No. 5 of the Travancore Epigraphical collection is an important record from the palæographical point of view, as it is specifically dated in Kollam 548 (=A. D. 1373) in the latter half of the 14th century in the reign of the Travancore king Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Kīlappētur. The language of the inscription is Tamil as is natural in the southern corner of the Travancore State, but the script employed marks an intermediate stage between Chōḷa-Grantha as such, and modern Malayalam which traces its origin from the former.

Malabar tradition ascribes the introduction of the Grantha alphabet for writing Malayalam works to the poet Tuṇjattu Rāmānujan-Eḷuttachchan,⁴ 'the father of Malayalam literature', who is believed to have flourished in the early part of the 8th century of the Malabar era. But it seems likely that the adaptation may have been made a century or more earlier, and that in the time of this poet the

1 *Trav. Archæ. Series*, Vol. I, p. 14-15.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 198-200.

3 See page 150 below.

4 Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, p. 42.

new script may have undergone some standardisation in form¹ and received more popular acceptance. With the introduction of a greater percentage of Sanskrit words in their unadulterated forms in medieval Malayalam literature as opposed to the earlier compositions which were less saturated with this foreign element, and with the popularisation of the hybrid *manipravāla* style which forms a distinctive feature of the Malayalam language, the older indigenous Vatteluttu script with its limited range of letters was found inadequate for the purpose of writing literary compositions in; and the Nambudiri brahmins who were the sole custodians of learning in Malabar in the earlier days, adopted the Grantha alphabet for their literary purposes. This script, supplemented by a few letters such as *ḷa*, *ṛa*, *ḷa* foreign to the Aryan language but borrowed from Vatteluttu, has been standardised as the modern cursive Malayalam alphabet, the only change that it has undergone in all these centuries being but a rounding off of its angularities, which differentiates it from modern Grantha and gives it the appearance of an individual script. Palaeographical evidence discloses that Grantha was only sparingly used in early Vatteluttu inscriptions for representing Sanskrit words, and that by about the 14th century, Grantha was adopted in its entirety for purposes of engraving inscriptions and copying manuscripts side by side with Vatteluttu, which still continued to be used.

The present record of the latter half of the 14th century is a noteworthy inscription in this respect. It marks a stage wherein the letters while retaining still their affinity to the Grantha forms have developed certain characteristics which have descended down to modern times in Malayalam. The letters also bear a marked resemblance to the alphabet employed in the Kottayam plates of Vīra-rāghava-chakravartin, and this similarity goes a long way to confirm the assignment of the latter to the 14th century A. D.² Some of the remarks made by Mr. V. Venkayya in regard to the peculiarity of the alphabet of that record applies with equal appropriateness to the script of the present epigraph:

(i) the group *kk* is expressed by adding a second horizontal stroke above the middle line forming part of the single letter;

(ii) the rough *ṛ* is used in several places and the semi-circular loop of *u* is affixed at its bottom as in modern Malayalam;

(iii) the secondary *ā* length is a distinct symbol and the forerunner of the Malayalam in-turned loop *o*, and the secondary *i* and *ī* are represented by curves on the top of the letters;

(iv) *ta* and *na*, while retaining their affinity to the Grantha group, also approximate in their forms to their Malayalam equivalents;

(v) *ṇa*, *ya*, *ṭa*, and *ra* have almost their modern forms in Malayalam;

(vi) *bha* retains its Grantha form and has not degenerated into *e*; and

(vii) conjunct consonants are written one over the other, as in *seyda*, *mukappaḍi* (l. 19, 5), in combination in a single symbol *ttu* (l. 6) and in juxtaposition in other places *aiṇṇūrru* (l. 1), no uniformity being maintained.

1 Burnell does not credit him with any attempt at systematisation in the orthography of the Arya-luttu except the introduction of the letters *ṛ*, *ḷ* and *ḷ* - p. 42.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 292.

It may thus be seen that the characters approximate to the modern Malayālam adaptations than to the original Grantha letters from which they were primarily evolved, and that this period of borrowal must therefore be at least a century earlier than the period of this epigraph, (*i. e.*), about the end of the 13th century A. D.

The subject matter of the document does not call for much remark; the record but registering a gift of land for feeding twelve brahmins in the Tirūvidaikkōdu temple during the Viśākham annual festival. The king during whose reign the inscription was engraved was Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvadi of Kilappērūr who was ruling over Venādu. From the temple chronicles as extracted in the *State Manual*,¹ we learn that a king called Vīra-Mārttāṇḍavarman ruled over Venādu till about 550 M. E., when he made certain expiatory donations to the temple of Padmanābhasvāmin at Trivandrum; but epigraphical records have till now given him a reign up to Kollam 541 only. As Āḍityavarman Sarvāṅganātha of the Trivandrum Krishnakōyil epigraph² is known to have been ruling in the Śaka year 1296 expressed by the chronogram *chōlapriya* corresponding to Kollam 549-50, we have to consider that the Venādu king Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvadi of the present record was his predecessor. It cannot be definitely stated when Mārttāṇḍa ceased to rule and in what year Ravi-Ravivarman commenced his reign or whether both of them were joint-rulers of Venādu before Kollam 550.

Srīvallabha-maṅgalam, is mentioned in a Chōla-Pāṇḍya record of Chōla-puram as a *brahmadēya* of Nāttārru-pōkku in Uttamaśōla-valanādu. Manattittai is a hamlet near Bhūtappāṇḍi.

Text.³

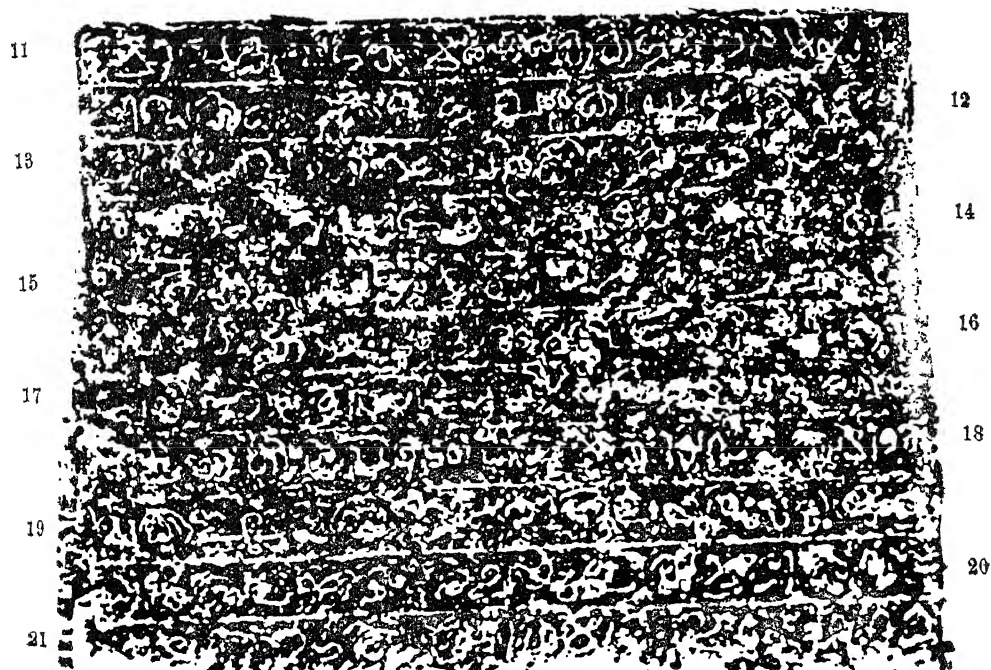
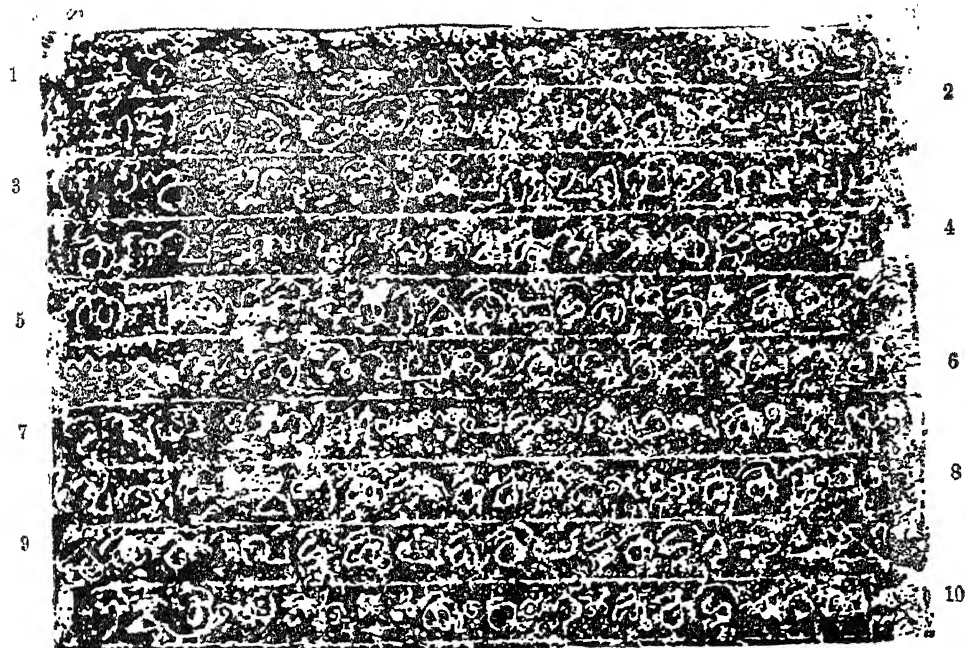
- 1 സ്വസ്തി ശ്രീ [1*] കൊല്ലം അത്തുറ നാൽപ്പത്തു എട്ടാ-
- 2 മണ്ട കുന്തിത്തായിരം യ ചെൻറതു വെണാടു വ-
- 3 ള്ളത്തളിൽ കീഴപ്പെരു [1*] ഇരവി ഇരവിവമ്മ-
- 4 ത്തിരുവിടി സ്വഗ്രന്തകവത്തുടാനം കൊടുത്ത നില-
- 5 ത്തിന്ന ഏഴുതന്ന തിരുമുക്ച്ചടി [1*] കീഴ്കളക്കുറത്തു
- 6 ബ്രഹ്മദേശത്തു ശ്രീവല്ലഭചതുരവതിമങ്ങലത്തു ക-
- 7 ദവ യജ്ഞനാരായണപ്പട്ട സ്വഗ്രന്തകവത്തു നാ-
- 8 ബിനാട്ടിൽ മണത്തിട്ട തെക്കാൽ കീഴെൽക തിരുപ്പാപ്പു-
- 9 മൂത്ത തിരുവിടിക്ക പകരിവട്ട തടി മ നില മാക-
- 10 ണ്നി മുന്തിയെക്ക മെൽക്ക തെന്നെൽക തടി മ നിലം [അ]-
- 11 രാജക്കു വടക്കു മെൽക്ക തടി മ നിലം അ-
- 12 മാവുക്കു കിഴക്കു വടവെൽക വാർക്കാൽക്കു
- 13 തെക്കു ഇവെൽക നടുവിൽ കിടത്ത കെ

1 *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 265.

2 *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 171.

3 Registered as No. 5 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E. and No. 47 of 1098 M. E.

TRUVIDAIKKODU INSCRIPTION OF KOLLAM 535



- 14 നിലം ഒരുമാ തക
 15 ഉതകവുട്ടു തമ്മതാനാക. ആചന്ദ്രതാ-
 16 രവൽ തന്തതിപ്രഭേശമെ അതികരിച്ചുകൊ-
 17 ണ്ടു കന്നിനായിരം വിശാകം ആട്ടെത്തിരു.
 18 നാളക്കു തിരുവിടെക്കൊട്ടു മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു മാത-
 19 വക്കു ഇല്ലുവിനാൽ ന് നാഴി ചെയ്ക്കു അരിയും ഒ-
 20 കാട്ടത്തു പന്തിരണ്ടു പെയർ പിരാമ്മണക്കു അമ-
 21 തെയ ക്കു നടത്തിപ്പൊകമാറു ഇല്ലെ ആകു

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 10th day of the month of Kanni in (the) Kollam (year) five-hundred and forty-eight, the land which was given as *sarvagrastaka-vastu-dānam* (an absolute gift) according to the royal order of Iravi-Iravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Kīlappērūr, who was ruling over Vēṇāḍu to Yajñanārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭa of Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* of Kīlkalakūrṇam is to the south of Maṇaltitṭai in Nāñjināḍu and its boundaries are the following:—

the eastern boundary is to the west of the *mākūṇi + mundirikai* of land comprised in two *tāḍi* belonging to Mūṭta-tiruvaḍi of Tiruppāppūr;

the southern boundary is to the north of the $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* of land comprised in one *tāḍi*;

the western boundary is to the east of the $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* of land comprised in one *tāḍi*;

the northern boundary is to the south of the channel;

The land lying between these boundaries which is one *mā* was bestowed as a charitable gift, preceded by a libation of water, to be enjoyed as long as the moon and stars (exist) and in lineal succession, and (with the stipulation) that on the *visākha*-day in the Kanni month every year, offerings with 9 *nāḷi* of good rice by the home-measure should be made to the god Mahādeva of the Tiruvidaikkōḍu temple and that twelve brahmans should be fed therefrom.

No. 40.— Another Inscription at Tiruvidaikkodu.

This record which can be attributed to about the beginning of the 12th century from its writing, is however so badly damaged at its end that nothing could be made of the last two or three lines; but from the legible portion it is seen that it registers a gift of some money by Karpaka-ṣetti for feeding twelve brahmans

1 Engraved below the line.

2 The writing stops here.

on new-moon days. It may be noted that Ālūr was called Vikramachōḷa-Pāṇḍyapuram, presumably after either of the two Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys Māravarman Vikramachōḷa-Pāṇḍya or Jātavarman Vikramachōḷa-Pāṇḍya; and as the alphabet of the record is sufficiently early, it has to be attributed to the time of the former, who was the earlier of the two and who was the second of the viceroys sent out to administer the southern dominions of the Chōḷa king Rājendrachōḷa-dēva.

Text.¹

- 1 வுவிழி ஸீ || ஆளுரா-
- 2 ன விக்கிரமசெழுபாண்டி.
- 3 பபுரத்து உடையான் பா[ப்ப]னா
- 4 கற்பக செட்டி காரிசாத்தனுக்கு ப
- 5 னுக்குடுத்து அமாவாதி நாள்
- 6 பன்னிருவர் பிராமணரை
- 7 அமுதுசெய்விப்பது அது.
- 8 க்கு வெண்டுங் காய்ச்சா-
- 9 க்கும் கறி[யு*]ம் அட்டி. ஸீ . .
- 10 . க . கற்பக
- 11 உப்பு நாழி பால் நாழி . . கு . .
- 12 வர் செய்-
- 13 செ.....கெத ||

No. 41—Another Tamil Record at Tiruvidaikkodu.

This Tamil inscription is also engraved in Tamil characters on the same rock embedded in the south *prākāra* of the Śiva temple at Tiruvidaikkōḍu. It records the gift of some lands by Uḍaiyan-Ponnāṇḍi and Uḍaiyānāṅḡula-naṅḡai of Maruḍattūr, a village in Kuru-nāḍu for certain offerings to the god and for feeding seven brahmans in the temple during the *dvādaśi* days of the first fortnight.

The same penalties for default as are found in other records of this type are specified here also, *viz.*, that for every occasion of default, double the quantity at default was to be levied, for two occasions the levy of an additional fine in money was also fixed, and for three (consecutive) occasions, the *ṅrar* of Maruḍattūr and the temple servants were empowered to cancel the previous agreements and conduct the charity themselves. The terms *onru*, *yiraṇḍu* and *mūṇru* have to be taken to refer to the number of occasions of default as in other records, rather than to the number of items of the *menu* that were stopped. The tax on these lands was ordered to be met by the persons supervising their cultivation.

Kadigaipattinam was also comprised in Kuru-nāḍu.

Text.²

- 1 வுவிழி ஸீ [1*] துலாத்தில் வி[யாழன்] நின்ற மெடஞாயி-
- 2 நது குறநாட்டு மருதத்தூர் உதைய-

1 Registered as No. 11 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E. and 48 of 1098 M. E.

2 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. 1084 M. E. and 49 of 1098 M. E.

- 3 ன் பொன்னுண்டியும் உதையன் மங்-
 4 கலநங்கையும் திருவிடைக்கெ-
 5 காட்டு திருகொயிற்கல் வலுவ-
 6 வகூத்து ஶாஷரி ஊட்டுவான் க-
 7 த்ப்பிச்சது [1*] அகத்து திருவமிது-
 8 க்கு அரி எண்ணுழியும் ஶ்ராமண-
 9 மெழுவற்கு கற்பிச்ச அரி பதிநா-
 10 ழியும் இதின்னு வெஞ்சனம் பயற
 11 நாழி வரிச்ச கறியும் [உ]லையும் நறு-
 12 நெய் புழக்கு மிளகு அரையுழக்கு
 13 தெங்ஙாய் ஒன்று மொர் முந்நா-
 14 ழிஉரி இதின்னு வெண்டும் உப்பு-
 15 ம் புளியும் விறகும் இலையும் -
 16 வற்றிலை யொரடுக்கும் அடைக்கா-
 17 ய் எழுங் கூடி ஶாஷரிநாளில் ஊ-
 18 ட்டுவான் கற்பிச்ச புழி [1*] தொட்டி-
 19 காட்டு வெலி மாங்கொட்டு ஞாவ.
 20 ந்கற்றுடவல் நிலம் குறுணி ஐஞ்-
 21 ஞாழியும் இதின்னு முடொக்கில்
 22 கூடிய நில மிருகுறுணியும் கூ-
 23 டி நிலம் முக்குறுணி அஞ்ஞாழியு-
 24 ம் குடிமார் குழித்துடவல் நிலம்
 25 இருகுறுணியும் பிலாவழறை நில-
 26 ம் நார்த்துறுணியுங் கூடி நிலம் அறு-
 27 குறுணியுங் கூடி ஆக நிலம் ஒன்பதி-
 28 ன்குறுணி அஞ்ஞாழியும் அதிகரி-
 29 க்கு மவர்கல் மும்மார்க்கெ-
 30 மய் செலுத்திவருவது [1*] இ-
 31 தில் ஒன்று முட்டுகில் முட்டி-
 32 ட்டி [1*] யிரண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டி-
 33 ட்டியுந் தெண்டமு [1*] மூன்று முட்டுகில் மரு-
 34 தத்தார் ஊராருந் தெவகன்மிகளுஞ்
 35 செலுத்திவிச்சுகொள்வது [1*] தொ-
 36 ட்டிகொட்டு முடொக்கில் கூடிய
 37 நிலத்தின்னு வரும் யிறை வரி நில-
 38 ந் தளமுறியிலு மதின் தாழத்தை வ-
 39 ட்டத்திலும் [பிராய]க்கற்றுடவலிலுங்
 40 குடி எற்றி அந்நிலமதிகரிக்குமவர் [கடமயி]-
 41 றுத்து வருவது [1*] குழித்துடவலிலும பில-
 42ாவழறையிலும் ஒள்ள யிறை வரி நி-
 43 லங் குடிமார் குழித்துடவல் நிலத்திலுக் கு-
 44 டி எற்றி அந்நிலமதிகரிக்குமவர் கடமயி-
 45 றுத்து வருவது
 46 இம்மாற்கமெ அந்நாடித்தீவற் செல்விது¹ [11*]

1 This line is engraved below the section ending with line 22, owing to want of space.

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the Mēdam month when Jupiter stood in Tulām, the following was provided by Udayān-Ponnāṇḍi and Udayān maṅgalattu Naṅgai of Marudattūr in Kuru-nādu, for the feeding (charity) during the *dvādaśi* (days) of the first fortnight, in the temple at Tiruviḍaikkōḍu:—

for the sacred offerings in the central shrine, 8 *nāḷi* of rice;

for seven brahmans, 14 *nāḷi* of rice;

for condiments for the latter, green pulse one *nāḷi*, fried curry, *ulai*, fragrant ghee one *uḷakku*, pepper half *uḷakku* each, coconut one, butter-milk three *nāḷi* and one *uri*;

and again for the latter, the required quantities of salt, tamarind, firewood, leaves, one *aḍukku* of betel and seven aracanuts;

for all (the above-mentioned), for feeding on *dvādaśi* days the following lands were provided:—

Jñāvaṅkarruḍaval field of (the sowing capacity of) one *kuruni* and five *nāḷi* in Vēlimāṅgōḍu near Totṭikkōḍu, together with two *kuruni* of land in Muḍōkku, i.e., land (having the sowing capacity) of three *kuruni* and five *nāḷi*;

land in Kuḍimār-ttuḍaval (having the sowing capacity) of two *kuruni*; land in Pilāvaḷarai (having the sowing capacity) of four *kuruni*; i.e., land (having the sowing capacity) of six *kuruni*;

—in all, land (having the sowing capacity) of nine *kuruni* and five *nāḷi*.

Those who supervise these (lands) shall conduct (the charity) in this manner. If it should fail for one occasion, double the default shall be paid; if for two, double the default and a fine shall be paid; if for three the *ārār* of Marudattūr and the temple servants shall conduct (the charity) themselves.

Those who supervise the lands shall bring in ryots to the plots called Tālamuṇi and those lying below it and Jñāvarruḍaval, and thus pay the tax collectable from the lands included in Muḍōkku in Totṭikkōḍu. Those who supervise the lands in Kuḍimārkuḷi-ttuḍaval shall bring in ryots to them and bear the taxes collectable from the fields Kuḷittuḍaval and Pilāvaḷarai.

No. 42.— A Record dated in Kollam 835.

The subjoined record is engraved in Tamil characters on the four faces of a stone pillar set up in the temple compound. It is dated in Kollam 835, and relates to a gift of land made by Perumāḷ-Tāṇuvaṇ for the maintenance of a water-shed on the bank of the Nāchchiyārkuḷam and has nothing to do with the Tiruviḍaikkōḍu temple. It appears to have been fixed up within this temple at a later date. The caretaker in charge of the wayside choultry had, in return for the lands which were given over to him for enjoyment, to supply water, pickles, salt, firewood etc. to the wayfarers. Another record of a similar nature has been published *ante*.

1 Pirāykkarruḍaval may be Jñāvaṅkarruḍaval.

The donor who is stated to have belonged to the caste (?) called *dēvaputras* of the Kalkulam temple (*Nayinār Kalkulattu-mādēvar kōyilil dēvaputraril kanak-ku*) was perhaps a *dēvadāsa*, a temple man servant, as opposed to his counterpart of the other gender, *dēvadāsi*. On account of hereditary temple service, the members perhaps developed into a separate sub-caste among themselves, as in the case of *ambalavāsis*, *vāriyārs* etc. It may be noted that *dēva* was also an honorific title used by the *ajambaḍi* body-guards of palaces, but these latter were presumably different from the *dēvaputras* of the present record.

Text.¹

First face

- 1 ஊரி: உண்டு [1*]
- 2 கிருநீலங்கண்ட -
- 3 சுவாமியும் அ-
- 4 மமை ஆனந்த வ-
- 5 ல்லி அம்மையும்
- 6 இலட்ச்சிசு [1*] -
- 7 கால்லம் அரந்-
- 8 னுரு ஆவணியும் உருவ
- 9 நயினார் கல்குளத்து மாடு-
- 10 தவர் ஓவிலில் தெய்வ-
- 11 புத்திரரில் கணக்கு மருமாள்
- 12 தாணுவன் நாச்சியார்க்கு-
- 13 ளத்தின் கரையில் அம்பல-
- 14 ம் நீர் [வ*] வியும் பெண் தியும்(ந்)
- 15 தண்ணீரும் சுண்ணாம்பும்
- 16 மாந்தலையும் நட்டு ஆக்கி-
- 17 ச் செய்கிற பெர்களுக்கு சந்-
- 18 திராதித்தவரைக்கும் விட்-
- 19 டு குடுத்த நிலமாவது [1*] நாஞ்சி-

Second side.

- 20 னாட்டில் எறிச்சிசு-
- 21 ளத்தில் அய்யக்குட்டி-
- 22 மாடன் ஓடு சொரா -
- 23 வாற்றி கொண்ட நில-
- 24 த்துக்கு எல்கை-
- 25 யாவது [1*] மெப்ப்படி
- 26 ஊரில் பெய்ச்சா-
- 27 ன் குளத்தின் கிள் ந-

- 28 டுவில் மடைப்பொ-
- 29 க்கு தடி ஒன்று நிலம்
- 30 அரமாவுக்கு எல்லை-
- 31 கயாவது கீழ் எல்லை-
- 32 க மணலிக்கரை
- 33 கண்டு உழவு நில-
- 34 த்துக்கும் மெக்குத்
- 35 தென்னெல்கை
- 36 சந்திரப்பாலன்
- 37 நிலத்துக்கு வடத்-
- 38 கு மெல்லெல்லை-
- 39 க மணலிக்கரை
- 40 கண்டு உழவு நில-
- 41 த்துக்கும் கிளக்கு வட-
- 42 எல்கை மெல்ப்படி.
- 43 வகை நிலத்துக்கும்

Third face.

- 44 தெற்கு ஆக இவ்விசர்ந்த பெ-
- 45 ருநாண்டெல்கைக்கு உளப்பட்ட
- 46 தடி ஒன்று நிலம் அரமாவும் மெ-
- 47 ல்ப்படி ஊரில் [நா]றக்குள-
- 48 ததின் கிழ்வடக்கு மடை-
- 49 ப்பொக்கு தடி ஒன்று நில-
- 50 ம் காணியரைக்காணி-
- 51 க்கு எல்கையாவது கிழ்-
- 52 எல்கை தாழைப்பெரு-
- 53 மாள் நிலத்துக்கும் மெ-
- 54 க்குத் தென்னெல்கை
- 55 அபயப்பன் பெருமாள்
- 56 மடத்துக்கு விட்டுக் கு-

1 Registered as No. 12 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

57 த்த நிலத்துக்கும் வடக்கு
58 மெல்லென்கை எடுத்த-
59 த(ர)பாதம் பின்னை நில-
60 த்துக்கும் சிழக்கு வடஎல்-
61 கை ஆண்டார் நிலத்து-
62 க்கும் தெக்கு ஆக இவிசெர்ந்-
63 த் பெருநான்கு எல்கை-
64 க்கு உள்ப்பட்ட தடி
65 ஒன்று நிலம் காணி அ-
66 ரைக்காணியும் ஆக
67 தடி யிரண்டினால் நில-
68 ம் முக்காணி அரை.

Fourth face.

69 க்காணிக்கு உண்-
70 டான இறைகளுந்
71 பொக்கி செழும்
72 ஒள்ள மிச்சவர-
73 ம் இந்த அம்பலத்தி-

74 லெ யிருந்து தீயும்
75 தண்ணீரும் சு-
76 ண்ணும்பும் உப்-
77 பு ஊறுகாயும்
78 குடுத்து விளைகுறை
79 ஆராய்ந்து நடுத-
80 ல் நட்டு இருக்கிற மெ-
81 பர்கள் அடுத்த பா-
82 விச்சு கொள்ளுவ-
83 ராகவும் இப்படி
84 யாவிச்சு பொருடு-
85 மடத்து இந்த நில-
86 த்துக்கும் இந்த தன்
87 ம்மர்த்துக்கும் அரு-
88 தம் செய்கிற பெர்-
89 கள் தெங்கைக்க-
90 ரையில் காராம்ப-
91 சுவை கொன்ற மெ-
92 தாழ்த்த பொவார் ஆ-
93 கவும் [11*].

Translation.

Hari ! Be it well : May god Tirunīlākanytha and goddess Āmaravalli protect (us).

On the 25th day of Āvaṇi in the Kollam year 835, Perumāl-Tāṇuvan of the community of Daivaputra, an accountant of the temple of Mahādeva at Kalkuḷam erected a rest-house, dug a drinking well on the bund of the tank (called) Nāchehiyārkuḷam, and (also) gave as long as the moon and sun endure, the following land for (the supply of) fuel, water and chunam and for (the maintenance of) him who plants and rears mango plants.

The boundaries of the land which was taken on a perpetual lease from Ayyakkutṭi-Māḍaṇ in Erichchikuḷam in Nāñji-nāḍu and the boundaries of the *taḍi* of land, half *mā* in extent, lying along the course of the central channel of the Pēychchaṅguḷam in the same village are:— the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the crown lands in Maṇalikkaraī; the southern boundary (is) to the north of the land belonging to Chandirappāḷaṇ; the western boundary (is) to the east of the crown lands in Maṇalikkaraī; and the northern boundary (is) to the south of the same land:— *i. e.*, the *taḍi* of land between these four great boundaries is half *mā* in extent.

In the same village, the boundaries of the *taḍi* of land, one and a half *kāṇi* in extent lying in the course of the northern sluice of the tank called [Nāra]-kkuḷam are:— the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the land belonging to Tālaippperumāl; the southern boundary (is) to the north of the land assigned to the *maṭha* of Ayyappaṇ-Perumāl; the western boundary (is) to the east of the land belonging to Eduttapādam-Pillai; the northern boundary (is) to the south of

the land belonging to *Āṇḍār i. e.*, the *taḍi* of land one and a half *kāṇi* in extent lying between these four great boundaries;—

in all, two *taḍi* of land, three and a half *kāṇi* in extent.

The balance of produce (*vāram*) remaining after (payment of) taxes on these lands was to be enjoyed by those who reside in this rest-house, supply fuel, water, chunam, salt and pickles (to wayfarers), supervise the general conduct (of the charity) and attend to the planting (of trees).

When this is being thus enjoyed, those who do evil to this land and to this charity, shall incur the sin of having killed a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges.

No. 43— A record dated in Saka 1649.

This is another record relating to the feeding of fifty-four brahmans during *dvādaśi* in the temple of *Kōḍambīśvaramudaiya-Nayinār* at *Tiruvidaikkōḍu*. for which some lands were given by *Perumāṇ-Kaṇḍan*, the accountant (*kaṇakku*) of *Maṇavalakkurichchi* in *Kadaigaipattanam*, a village of *Kuru-nāḍu* which was a sub-division of *Rājarāja-Tennāḍu*.

Rājarāja-Tennāḍu was the name of the southern portion of the *Pāṇḍya* kingdom, which *Rājarāja* had conquered and had rechristened in his own name. From the fact that *Kadaigaipattanam* was situated in *Kuru-nāḍu*, this sub-division can be located in the modern *Eraniel* taluk. It may be noted that *kurichchi* and *pattinam* at the ends of place-names are significant of their topographical positions, *kurichchi*, being the name of the hamlets of *kurinjīnila-mākkal* or hill tribes and *pattinam* that of the villages on the sea-coast in *neydal-nilam*, (e. g., *Nāgapattinam*, *Kulaśekharapattinam*)¹.

Text.²

1	[சகா]த்தம் கத [*] ா-	16	ட்டத்தில் இருந்து இரா-
2	சயக செல்லாநின்ற	17	சராச தென்னாட்டுக் கு-
3	மெட வியாழம் நின்-	18	றுநாட்டு கடிக்கைபட்ட-
4	ற கொல்லம் ³ கூஉன்	19	ணம் மணவாளகுறி-
5	பிலவங்கவருழம்	20	ச்சியில் கணக்கு ³ பெருமான் க-
6	மெடமாதம் உயக செ-	21	ண்டன் துவாதெசி ஊ-
7	சன்ற புதனாட்சை-	22	ட்டுக்கு தானப்பிறமா-
8	யு மகவும் பூர்[வ [*]]பகஷ-	23	ணமர்க விட்ட நிலம்மா-
9	த்து தெசமியும் கர[ச [*]]கர-	24	விது [i [*]] திருவிடைக்கெ-
10	ணமும் வைறுத்தி நித்தி-	25	காட்டு செய்கொல்-
11	யயொகவும் பெ[ற [*]]ற-	26	க்குளத்தின் கிழும் வெ-
12	ந் நாளால் திருவிடை-	<i>Second face.</i>	
13	கொட்டு கொட்டி-	27	ப்பறைக்குள-
14	இச்சுரமுடைய நயி-	28	த்தின் கிழும்
15	னார் திருமுக்கால் வ-	29	நீருண்டு நெல்

1 குறிச்சி நெல்லாசே சேனார் குறிஞ்சிநன்னிலத்தூர்ப்பேராம்
பறித்திடு முக்கையூரே பாடி பட்டினமே நெய்தல் — *Chadāman*.
2 Registered as No. 13 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.
3 The English equivalent is A. D. 1727, April 19; '81; '32.

- 30 வினையும் த-
 31 ட்டான்துட-
 32 வல்லும் வெ-
 33 ப்பறையும் தடி
 34 உ வ¹ அபயம் உ-
 35 ளற்றிக்குளத்தி-
 36 ன் கிழ் ஊற்று
 37 உள்ளிட்ட தடி
 38 க வ களாயும்²
 39 இடைக்கெ-
 40 ாட்டு பற்றில்
 41 இடைக்கெ-
 42 ாட்டு குளத்-
 43 தின் கிழ் ம-
 44 திலடி
 45 க வ³ நயும் க-
 46 னிராட்டு-
 47 பற்றில் புங்-
 48 கறைக்குள-
 49 த்தின் கிழு[ம்*]
 50 தெ தனிக்கு-
 51 முக்கியும் டெ-
 52 சல்லன்குள-
Third face.
 53 த்தின் கிழும் நிரு-
 54 ண்டுநெல் வினையும்
 55 நெடுங்கண் தடி
 56 க வ சுப⁴யும் தெ புரவி-
 57 ல் நடுவுக்கொடு
 58 தடி க வ⁵தயும் ஆக தடி
 59 னுால் வ⁶ உள்ளப-
 60 யும் துவாதெசி ஊ-
 61 ட்டுக்கு சடையப்பர்
 62 கொவில் ஊ-
 63 ட்டுபுரை மெக்-
 64 க நடையில் கல்லு
 65 வெட்டி நாட்டுகையி-
 66 ல் இந்த உ உளபயும்⁶
 67 பிரமத்துவமாக தி-
 68 ருவிடைக்கொட்டிம்
 69 கனிராங்கொடு
 70 கிராமத்தார் வசம் கை-
 71 ய்பாளிக்கெயில் சி-
 72 பண்டார்க்கும் யடி
 73 கடமையும் இறுத்து
 74 [து*]வாதெசி தொறும் டி-
 75 யச பராமணர்க்கு
 76 ஊட்டுபுரையில்
 77 வைச்ச ஊட்டு ந-
 78 டத்தி பெருமான் கண்டன்
Fourth face.
 79 தறவாட்டில்
 80 துவாதெசி-
 81 தொறும் சவ
 82 அரிசி சொறும்
 83 கொடுத்து தம்-
 84 ம்பபத்தர் டெ[க]-
 85 ள்ப்பிச்சு
 86 ஆசெந்திர-
 87 வற் ஊட்டு
 88 நடத்திக்கொள்-
 89 வாராகவும்[1*] இந்-
 90 த தற்ம்மத்தை
 91 நடத்திவருகி-
 92 றவன் கெங்-
 93 கைக்கரையி-
 94 ல் காராம்பசு
 95 தானம் செ-
 96 ய்த பல்தை-
 97 த யடைவாரா-
 98 கவும்[1*] இத்தற்-
 99 மம் முடக்கின
 100 பெர்கள் கெ-
 101 ன்[கை] கரையில்
 102 காராம்பசு-
 103 வக் கொன்ற தொ-
 104 மும் அடையவும்[1*]
 105 இந்த கல்லு
 106 7

1 தடி உ நிலம் எண்குறணியும்.

2 நிலம் ஒரு கலனும்.

3 நிலம் முக்குறணியும்.

4 நிலம் அறுகுறணியும்.

5 நிலம் தூணியும்.

6 நிலம் இருகலனே எழுகுறணியும்.

7 The last line may have contained the word 'காட்டியது'.

Translation.

In the Śaka year 1649 when Jupiter stood in Mēdam, corresponding to (the) Kollam (year) 902 and the (cyclic) year Plavaṅga, on the 21st (day) of the month of Mēdam, (which was) a Wednesday, and the tenth *tithi* in the first fortnight with nakshatra Makha, *kara(śa)karanam* and *śivatti-nityajāgare*—on this day, the lands which Perumāṇ-Kaṇḍaṇ, the accountant of Maṇḍaṅkaṅkucheri (a hamlet of Kaḍikaipattanam in Kuru nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Rājaraṇa-Tennāḍu, gave as charity while present in the temple (*tirumukkalvattam*) of (the god) Kōḍambīśvaramudaiya-nayinār of Tiruvidaikkōḍu, for the purpose of feeding on *dvādaśi* days, are the following:—

two *taḍi* of land (called) Taṭṭāṇ-tuḍaval and Vēpparai (having the sowing capacity) of 8 *kurunī*, which are irrigable by the Śeykāḷ and Vēpparai tanks for growing paddy;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *kalam* under the tank called Ūṟṟikkūḷam, inclusive of the spring;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of three *kurunī* under the Iḍaikkōḍu tank in Iḍaikkōṭṭu-paru;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of six *kurunī* irrigable for growing paddy from tanks called Puṅgaraikkūḷam, Taṇikkūḷam, and Śellāṅkūḷam in Kaṇiñāṭṭu-paru;

in the same division, one *taḍi* of land in Naḍuvukkōḍu (having the sowing capacity) one *tūṇi*:

—in all, from these five *taḍi*, land (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and seven *kurunī* (was given) for the feeding (of brahmins) during *dvādaśi* (days) and (this gift) was engraved on a stone which was fixed up at the western entrance of the feeding-house of the temple of Śaḍaiyappar.

This land (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and seven *kurunī* was left as *brahmasvām* under the supervision of the villagers of Tiruvidaikkōḍu and Kaṇiñāṅgōḍu (with the stipulation) that the taxes were to be paid to the temple-treasurers, that fifty-four brahmins should be fed during each *dvādaśi* in the feeding-house, that cooked food of four *nālī* of rice should be given during each *dvādaśi* to the *ṭṭaravaḍ* of Perumāṇ-Kaṇḍaṇ and that the feeding should be conducted as long as the moon exists, under the supervision of the *dharma-karttās*.

Those that conduct this charity shall obtain the merit of presenting a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges, and those that obstruct it shall obtain the sin of killing a tawny cow there.

This stone

No. 44—Inscriptions on pillars in the same temple.

The following inscriptions are labels found on the pillars supporting the circumambulatory passage round the shrine in the Tiruvidaikkodu temple and record the names of their respective donors. They are not important in themselves, but as it is advisable to bring together all the records relating to the temple in one

place, these are also printed below. One point only is noticeable that all the lables evidently belong to the same year as that mentioned in a few viz: Kollam 769 Arpasi, 12, when the *surr-mandapa* appears to have been re-constructed.

A

- 1 பாறைச்சாலை
- 2 தெசத்து கண-
- 3 க்கு நாகன் ஆ-
- 4 திச்சன் பத்தி
- 5 ஒன்றுக்கு கொடு-
- 6 த்த ஸூஉய

B

- 1 பள்ளத்து
- 2 பள்ளச்சை
- 3 நும்பய்யன்
- 4 கண்ணன்
- 5 பத்திகக்கு
- 6 ட [ஸூஉய]

C

- 1 கழைக்கூட்ட-
- 2 ம் தெசத்து
- 3 கணக்கு இரா-
- 4 மன் தெவன்
- 5 செய்வித்த பத்-
- 6 தி க க்கு ஸ [ஸூஉய]

D

- 1 பாத்திசெகர-
- 2 மங்ஙலம் தெ-
- 3 சத்தில் ஒற்றவி-
- 4 ளாகத்து விட்டில்
- 5 செகிவிச்ச ப-
- 6 த்தி க

E

- 1 குட்டமங்க-
- 2 லந் தெசத்து
- 3 கணக்குப் பெரு-
- 4 மனை தர்மன்
- 5 கிட்டணன் செ-
- 6 ய்வித்து கு-
- 7 தெத்த பத்திக

F

- 1 மருதத்தூர்
- 2 தெசத்து க-
- 3 ணக்கு இச்ச-
- 4 வரன் அய்யப்ப-
- 5 ன் செய்விச்ச
- 6 பத்தி க்கு ஸ [ஸூஉய]

G

- 1 திருவிடை-
- 2 க்கொட்டு
- 3 தெவர் புத்-
- 4 திரரில் புது-
- 5 யூர் சடை-
- 6 யன் சங்-
- 7 கரன் தூண்

H

- 1 குழிக்காட்டு சா-
- 2 த்தன் அரங்ஙன்
- 3 செய்விச்ச பத்தி
- 4 ஒன்று

I

- 1 பள்ளத்து
- 2 சிறபள்ளி மருதன்
- 3 நாகன் செ-
- 4 மிவிச்ச பத்தி
- 5 க க்கு ஸ . .

J

- 1 நடுவில் விளாட்-
- 2 நிரையில் நலத்-
- 3 தான் பெருமான்
- 4 செய்விச்ச
- 5 பத்தி க

K

- 1 ளாகுகு (ஸ்) அற்பசி
- 2 மாதம் மீ உ மாச்சி-
- 3 கொட்டு முடவம்-
- 4 புறத்து பெரிய தி-
- 5 ருவடி நயினர்
- 6 திருவணந்தாழ்வான்
- 7 செய்வித்த பத்தி-
- 8 ஒன்றுக்கு குடு-
- 9 த்த ஸூஉய

L

- 1 ளாகுகு (ஸ்)
- 2 அற்பசி மாத-
- 3 ம் மீ உ திருக்கா-
- 4 . ண்டபத்தம் .
- 5 யில் தெக்கெ ந-
- 6 டையும் வடக்-
- 7 கெ நட்டையும்

8 . . குற்ற . .	2 கொளன் எழுந்தருளீவிச்ச
9 . . வித்தவ	3 திருப்பூப்பலகை
10	N
1 வவ்வி ஸ்ரீ [*] மருதத்தூர் தெவன்	1 கல்லாற் பொதிக்கு சடயப்பர் துணை

No. 45—Kalliyangadu inscription of Kollam 864.

This record, which is engraved in Tamil on the four sides of a pillar set up in the Bhagavatī temple at Kalliyangādu in the Eraniel taluk, registers the gift of some lands made by a certain Chidambaram-Ilayyanayinār for offerings and worship to the god Vināyaka set up by him in the *matha* of the village and named Chidambara Vināyaka-ppillaiyār, after himself. The inscription contains elaborate details of the lands given and of the scales of expenditure to be met in the proper conduct of the charity. The English date is A. D. 1688, November 10; '83; f.d.n. 14.

Text.¹

- 1 மகரத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற கொ-
- 2 ல்லம் அரகயசு (நடு) காத்திகை
- 3 ஸ்ரீ மகல சனியாட்சையும்
- 4 சொதியும் அமரபக்கிழ்சத்து
- 5 திறியொதெசியும் சவுபாக்கி-
- 6 யயொகமும் ஆனைக்கரணமும்
- 7 பெற்ற இன்னுழால் எழுதின உத-
- 8 கபூறுவ தன்ம[த]ான பட்டைய-
- 9 மாவது [*] தென்னாட்டுக்குறு நா-
- 10 ட்டு விரநாராயணசெரிக் கி[ழ்]பால்
- 11 கள்ளியங்காட்டில் சிதம்பரம்
- 12 இளையநயினானென் ஷெ யூரில் மட-
- 13 த்தில் சிதம்பர வினாயகப்பிள்ளை
- 14 யார்க்கு உதகபூறுவ தன்மதான-
- 15 ப் பட்டையம் எழுதிக் குடுத்த நில-
- 16 மாவது [*] ஷெ யூரில் அஞ்சனவன்
- 17 குளத்தாலும் ஆலடித்தனிக்குழி-
- 18 யாலும் நிருண்டு நெல் விளையும்
- 19 முடங்கன் தடி கட உத²-ப³ம் துலுக்-
- 20 க்கன் வயல் தடி கட உத² உத³ம் கிழ் ந-
- 21 வெத்தடி தடி கட தக⁴ ச⁵ உ⁶ம் கிழ்-
- 22 க்கரையடியும் தொழுவடி
- 23 ந⁷ம் ஆக தடி ச⁸ உ⁹ த¹⁰-ப¹¹ம்¹² கொல்ல-

1 Registered as No. 14 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

2 இருதூணி முக்குறுணி.

3 இருதூணிப்பதக்கு.

4 தூணி குறுணி நாநாழி.

5 தூணி முக்குறுணி.

- 24 குளத்தின் கீழ் மெட்டுமடைப்பெ-
 25 ராக்கில் தண்டான்பறம்பு தடி கல¹ க-
 26 ள உதம் நெடுங்குழி ஆலங்குழி-
 27 யால் நிருண்டு நெல் விளையும்
 28 ஆயத்துறை வயல் தடி உவஉ ள²ம்
 29 காஞ்சிரங்குழியில் கிழ்கரை-

Second face.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| 30 யடி தடி கல ³ களத- | 31 பம் ஆக தடி பல- |
| 32 தினால் உ ⁴ அளப | 33 ம் நெடுங்குழி |
| 34 ஆலங்குழியில் | 35 தனிக்குழி கிர- |
| 36 ண்டும் அஞ்ச- | 37 னவன்குளத்தி- |
| 38 ல் தனிக்குழி ஒன்- | 39 றும் ஆலடித்- |
| 40 தனிக்குழியில் | 41 நின்று அஞ்சன- |
| 42 வன்கொணம் | 43 உள்ளிட்ட பி- |
| 44 ள்ளையார் நில- | 45 த்துக்கும் தன்- |
| 46 மபத்தா நில- | 47 த்துக்கும் பொ- |
| 48 க்கி உள்ள தன்- | 49 ணீர் பிள்ளையா- |
| 50 ர்க்கு ஒருகூறும் | 51 தன்மபத்தாவு- |
| 52 க்கு இருகூறுமா- | 53 க நடப்பிச்சு- |
| 54 க் கொள்ளவும் | 55 நாஞ்சினாட்டு |
| 56 அழகியபரண் | 57 டியபுரத்து பெ- |
| 58 ரியகுளத்தின்- | |

Third face.

- 59 (ந்)களகமாய் மெல்க்கால்ப-
 60 பெரக்கு பெய்கொட்டு பத்தில்
 61 பிள்ளையார் பெர் மட ஒத்தியும்
 62 செரா ர ஒத்தியும் கொண்டநிலம்
 63 முதல தடிதடி கல உளஉத | உ தடிதடி
 64 உஉ ளை கூ || ந தடிதடி கஉ உ ரரூ எ
 65 ச தடிதடி கஉ உத—|| ரு தடிதடி உந கல எ-
 66 ஷெ தடிதடி கல . உந ஷெ தடி தடி கல சு-
 67 ரரூ எ ஆக தடி பலதினால் உ உ ப ஏக-
 68 || க்கும் ஆக உள்ள நிலங்களுக்கு
 69 எல்லா இறைகளும் இறுத்து இயாவி-
 70 ச்சு பெரதுவாராகவும் [1*] இப்படி
 71 இந்த உதகபூறுவ தன்மதான ப-
 72 ட்டையம் எழுதிக் குடுத்தென்
 73 சிதம்பரம் இளையநயினுனென்
 74 சிதம்பர வினாயகப்பிள்ளையா-

1 கலனே இருதானி.

2 இருகலம்.

3 கலனே தூணிக்குறுணி.

4 எண்கலனே குறுணி.

5 இருகலனே இருதானி.

6 The symbols are not understood.

- 75 ருக்கு [1*] இப்படிக்கு சிதம்பரம்
 76 இனைய நயினான் எழுத்தது [11*]
 77 பெயொட்டுப்பற்றில் உ ஸுராக்
 78 ஸ் க்கு இறை நெல் கோ¹ நடுநடு கள்ளி-
 79 யங்காட்டு வகையில் உ² அளப-
 80 க்கு கடமை டநல் கோ சடுந ஆக வகை
 81 உ னால் னுல் க-க்கு கோ எடுகவு ல் பிள்-
 82 னாயார் பூசைக்கு கோ கூவ ந³ விசை-
 83 வு பூசைக்கு கோ நு மடத்து பண்டார-
 84 த்துக்கு கோ நடுநடு பரதெசியக்கு கோ
 85 உயிநு இ தன்மபத்தாவுக்கு கோ மெ
 86 கணக்குப்பிள்ளைக்கு கோ கூ ஆக
 87 னு க-க்கு சிலவு கோ கூடுகவு ஸ⁵

Fourth face.

- 88 மடத்தில் நம்முடைய
 89 குருக்கள் எழுந்தருளி-
 90 னால் ஒரு நாள் பூசை
 91 சிலவு நடப்பிச்ச குடு-
 92 க்கவும் சிதம்பரம்
 93 இனையநயினான் பிறந்த
 94 நாள் ஆடி மீ⁴ம் சித்திரைக்கு
 95 பரதெசிகளுக்கும் நம்மு-
 96 டைய ஊராராருக்கும் வை-
 97 ச்சுட்டுச் சிலவுக்கு னுல்
 98 மிளிர் க்கு உபையம் உ-
 99 கெ⁶ எ இயும் கொண்டு ந-
 100 டப்பிச்ச கொள்வாரா-
 101 கவும் மடத்துக்கு வேண்-
 102 டிம செய்தி நம்முடை-
 103 ய ஊரார் விசாரித்து
 104 கொள்ளவும் இந்த மட-
 105 த்துக்கும் தன்மத்துக்கும்
 106 ஆராமொருவர் அகுத-
 107 ம் நினைக்கிறவர் கெங்-
 108 கைக் கரையில் காரா-
 109 ம்பசுவை கொன்ற டெ-
 110 தாஷமும் ரம்முத்தி-
 111 யிற் தொஷமும் கை-

1 கோட்டை 33½.

2 நிலம் எண்கலனே பதக்குக்கு.

3 கோட்டை 76½.

4 கோட்டை 6 + ½ + ½.

5 கோட்டை 69 + ½ + ½.

6 நெல் பதினாங்கலன்.

7 நெல் கோட்டை 7½.

- 112 ப்யெப்பாராகவும் இ-
 113 த் த மடத்துக்கும் தன்மத்து-
 114 க்கும் வெண்டுவது நினை-
 115 க்கிறவர் கெங்கையிலெ
 116 கொடி தானம் பண்ணி-
 117 ன பலன் உண்டாகவும் [11*]

Translation.

In the Kollam year 864 in which Jupiter stood in Makara, on Saturday, the 11th day of Kārttigai which was the thirteenth *tithi* in the Amara-paksha, and had Svātī as the nakshatra with *saubhāgya-yōga* and *āṇai-karaṇa*—on this day the following deed of gift with libation of water was drawn up:—

The lands which I, Chidambaram-Iḷaiyanayināṇ of Kalliyāṅgādu (a hamlet) to the east of Vīranārāyaṇachchēri in Kuṟu-nādu (a sub-division) of Tennādu, gave as a charitable gift with libation of water and a deed, to Chidambara-Viṇā-yakappillaiyār in the *maṭha* of the same village are the following:—

one *taḍi* of land (called) Mudaṅgaṇ, (having the sowing capacity) of two *tūṇi* and three *kuṟuṇi* (of seed), irrigable for growing paddy under the tanks (called) Añjanavaṅkuḷam and Āḷaḍittanikuḷi;

one *taḍi* of land (called) Tulukkaṇvayal (having the sowing capacity) of two *tūṇi* and one *padakku*;

one *taḍi* of land in the eastern portion (having the sowing capacity) of one *tūṇi*, one *kuṟuṇi* and four *nāḷi*;

land in the eastern bund and three *taḍi* of land in Toluvaḍi in all, four *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *tūṇi* and three *kuṟuṇi*;

one *taḍi* of land (called) Taṭṭāṇparaṃbu in the course of the eastern sluice of the Kollakuḷam (having the sowing capacity) of one *kalam* and two *tūṇi*;

two *taḍi* of land (called) Āyatturaivayal (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and irrigable for paddy from Neduṅguḷi and Ālaṅguḷi;

one *taḍi* of land at the eastern bund of Kāñjiraṅkuḷi (having the sowing capacity) of one *kalam*, and one *kuṟuṇi*;

—thus in all, land many *taḍi* in extent and (having the sowing capacity) of eight *kalam* and one *kuṟuṇi* and two separate *kuḷi* of land in Neduṅguḷi and one in Ālaṅguḷi.

Water shall be irrigated to (the lands belonging to) the Pillaiyār and the *danmapattā* in the ratio of one to two, after (irrigating all) the lands belonging to the Pillaiyār and the *danmapatta* lying between Āḷaḍittanikuḷi and Añjanavan-kōṇam.

The land which was taken on permanent mortgage in the name of the *maṭha* of Pillaiyār in Pēykkōṭṭuparṟu in the course of the western channel of the Periyakuḷam in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyapuram in Nāñjinādu is one *taḍi* (having the sowing capacity)

For all these lands, all taxes shall be paid and the lands shall be occupied.

Thus did I, Chidambaram-Ilayanayināṇ, write the deed of gift with libation of water to Chidambaram-Vināyakappillaiyār. This is the writing of Chidambaram-Ilayanayināṇ.

The tax on of land in Pēyotṭupparṟu is $33\frac{1}{8}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy, and the tax on 8 *kalam* one *kurumi* of land in Kaḷḷiyaṅgādu is 43 *kōṭṭai* of paddy; thus from $76\frac{1}{8}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy from these two lands was to be given $6 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{16}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy for the worship of Pillaiyār, 3 *kōṭṭai* of paddy for special worship (to the same god), $13\frac{1}{8}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy for the *maṭha*-stores, $25\frac{3}{4}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy for mendicants (*parudēśis*), 12 *kōṭṭai* of paddy to the temple trustees and 9 *kōṭṭai* for the accountant:

—in all, the expenses for one year are $69 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{16}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy.

If our *guru* should be pleased to visit our *maṭha*, the expenses for one day's worship (to him) shall be met. The expenses of 15 *kalam* required for feeding mendicants and the *ūrār* of the village on the day of the Chitrā-nakshatra in the month of Aḍi, the day on which Chidambaram Ilayanayināṇ was born, shall also be defrayed from $7\frac{1}{2}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy provided therefor. The affairs of the *maṭha* shall be looked after by the *ūrār* of this village.

Those that contemplate evil towards this *maṭha* and this charity shall incur the sin of killing a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges and of killing a brahman. Those that do good to this *maṭha* and this charity shall obtain the merit of one crore of gifts bestowed on (the banks of) the Ganges.

No. 46—Two Tamil Records from Tiruppatisaram.

The subjoined two records are found in the Vishṇu temple at Tiruppatisāram which is a village in the Tovala taluk of the Padmanabhapuram Division and is one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* of Vaiṣṇava repute. Only one fragmentary record of this temple dated in Kollam 304 (= A. D. 1129) has been published hitherto. From the fact that the Vaiṣṇava saint Nammālvār has sung about it, it can be stated that the temple must have dated from at least the end of the 8th century A. D, if not earlier, and that the god was known by the name of Tiruvālmāraṇ then, as now.

But it may be remarked that while Nammālvār describes the god as a sitting image of Vishṇu,

வருவார் செல்வார் வண்பரிசாரத்து இருந்த என்

கிருவாழ்மார்வற்கு என் திறம் சொல்லார் செய்வதென்—(VIII-3-7),

Pillaipperumāḷi-Ayyaṅgār (12th century A. D.) says that the image was in the recumbent posture of a *sayanamūrti*,

அடியுக்குளிரந்தா எறிவுக்குலைந்தான்
முடிக்கின்றான் மூச்சடங்குமுன்னே—கடிதோடிப்

பெண் பரிசாரங்குப் பிறப்பித்து மீளுவார்

வண்பரிசாரங் கிடந்தமாற்கு—*Nūṟṟeṭṭu-tiruppati-andādi*, v. 60

The 12th century record mentioned above, refers to the god of the temple as

திருப்பதிகாரத்து வீற்றிருந்தருளின் எம்பெருமான்

and as the present image, a *saulha-mūrti*, is in the same sitting posture, we have to consider that Pillaipperumāl has made a mistake in his description and that the variant reading திருவண்பரிசாரம் மிருந்த மாற்கு is more acceptable. *Māranalārkāram*¹ has one verse in praise of this image, but it does not discuss its postural detail.

It is noteworthy that while inscriptions mention Tirupparisāram (the essence of sacred places) as the name, the Vaishnava works invariably call it as Tiruvan-parisāram.

On the east wall of the first prakāra of the Vishnu temple.

Text.¹

- 1 கொல்லம் ளாஅய்க னு ஆவணிமாதம் உரெ உ அமரபக்கிழத்து சத்த-
- 2 மியும் வெள்ளியாட்சையும் உரொகணியும் இன்னாளால் நயினர் திருவா-
முமார்ப நயி-
- 3 னர்க்கு ஆவணிமாதம் திருவொணத்திருனாள் நடக்கம்படிக்கு அக்கா
தெச்சுர . . சம்புநாராய-
- 4 ண நம்பி கணக்காக ஷெம் திருவொணத்தினாள் மண்டபத்தில் எழு-
ந்தருளிச்சு சிறப்புக்கு அமு-
- 5 துபடி உருக உ பால் பாயிதத்துக்கு அமுதுபடி இருமுழி பாயிதத்துக்-
கும் சிறப்புக்கும் கறியமுதுக்குந் தெங்-
- 6 காய் உ பணிமாறவும் பக்கினத்துக்கும் நெய் யு இலையமுது யிக்கு
- 7 அடைக்காயமுது டு பாயிதத்துக்கு சக்கரை பலம் ச திருமுன் விளக்கு
இரண்டுக்கு எண்ணை னு கை-
- 8 . . . சாமம் க சீபாதந்தாங்கும் பிராமணர் பெர் ச க்கு உ வித்துவா-
ங்க
- 9 னச(ளுக)க்கு சந் திருமுன் பந்தத்துக்கும் விளக்கும் உ திருச்சுற்றில்
எழுந்த
- 10 னரிச்சால் நெத்தியத்துக்கும் பொரியமுது உஉசந்கரை பலம் க இலைய-
- 11 முதுயிக்கு அடைக்காய் டு சாத்துப்படி பலம் இநயினர் சடையபுர
முனை-
- 12 டயநயினர்க்கு அமுதுபடி உஉ அம்பனார்க்கண்டஞ் சாத்தனுக்கு அ-
- 13 முதுபடி உஉயும் அம்மை திருப்பதிநங்கைக்கு அமுதுபடி . . ஆக இந்த-
ப்படி-
- 14 யெ நடக்கும்படி கற்பித்து நாராயணநம்பி குறித்த ஸாரும் இந்-
- 15 த பணம் நூற்றன்பதும் சீபண்டாரத்தில் பற்றிக்கொண்டு இந்-
- 16 தப் பணத்தின் உபையத்துக்கு ஆண்டுதொறும் சீபண்டாரத்தி-

1 பூரித்தெழுந்த புணர் முலையைப் புல்விவிடா
வாரித்தளவடநிறைதாம்—நேரிழையாய்
மட்டார் பொழில் வண்பரிசார மாதவற் காட்-
பட்டாதரித்தனவோ பண்டு.

— verse 549.

2 Registered as No. 63 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. 2.

- 17 ஸ் நின்றும் நடத்திப்பொதுவாராகவும் இதுவும் ஷெயான் க-
 18 ணக்காக துவாரதேசி ஒன்றுக்கு நமக்காரம் ஒன்றாக மாதம்
 19 ஒன்றுக்கு நமக்காரம் பெர் உக்கு அரிசி நடக்கு எ- எ-உரியும் கரியமு-
 து எ- உ-உரி
 20 ஆக இந்தப்படி நடக்கும்மாறு கற்பித்து ஷெயான் கணக்காக சீபண்-
 டாரத்தில் குடுத்த
 21 ச-இரு இந்தப் பணத்தினுபையத்துக்கு சீபண்டாரத்தில் நின்றும் நட-
 த்திப் பொதுவா
 22 ராகவும். [11*].

Translation.

On the 27th day of the month of Āvaṇi in the Kollam year 789 which was a Friday with *saptami-ñithi* of the *amara-paksha* and *Rōhiṇī-nakshatra*, *Sambu-nārāyaṇa-Nambi* gave 150 *paṇam* for the conduct of the festival on *Tiruvōṇam* in the *Āvaṇi* month to the god *Tiruvālmārbaṇ* with the following scale of expenditure:—

for *śīrāppu* expenses (to the god) when he is pleased to be present in the *maṇḍapa* on the *Tiruvōṇam* day, one *padakku* and six *nāḷi* of rice, for *pāyasam* with milk, two *nāḷi* of rice, for the above and for curry two cocoanuts, for serving and for cakes one *āḷakku* of ghee, 10 betel leaves, 5 arecanuts, 4 *palam* of sugar for *pāyasam*, one *āḷakku* of oil for the two lights in front (of the god), 2 *paṇam* to four brahman-bearers of the image, 3 *paṇam* for paddy seed per year, 2 *paṇam* for torch and light in front of the god, 2 *nāḷi* for fried rice-offering on the occasion of the god's procession in the *surru-maṇḍapam*, sugar one *palam*, 10 betel leaves, 5 arecanuts, $\frac{1}{2}$ *palam* of *sāttuppaḷi*, 2 *nāḷi* of rice to the god *Śaḍaiyapuramuḍaiya-Nayinār*, 2 *nāḷi* of rice to the *Sāstā* of *Ambanūrkaṇḍam*, and one *nāḷi* of rice to the goddess *Tiruppatinaṅgai*.

This amount of 150 *paṇam* was received into the temple-treasury and the above was agreed to be conducted every year.

The same individual also gave 50 *paṇam* and the *bhaṇḍāra* agreed therefor to feed, at the rate of one man on every *dvādaśi* day, 2 brahmans every month with 3 *nāḷi* of rice and curry for which were given respectively 7 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy and 3 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy.

No. 47— Tiruppatisaram record of Kollam 961.

This record which is engraved on a slab of stone built into the floor next to the entrance into the first *prākāra* of the Vishnu temple at Tiruppatisāram, registers the fact that the paving of the floor with stone flags was accomplished by a private individual, *Kuppāṇ-chiṭṭi* of the village of *Pillaiyārkōyil*, a hamlet of *Kalkuḷam* in the Kollam year 961.

Text.¹

- 1 உகாசுமிக ஹஸ் ஆவணி மீ
- 2 மநவ குருவாரமும் அசுபதி-
- 3 நட்செத்திரமும் பின்னாள்
- 4 திருப்பதிகார கொயில்
- 5 ஓத்தைக்கல் மண்டபம்
- 6 சன்னதிடையில் கல்[கு]-
- 7 ளம் பிள்ளையார்கொயில்
- 8 கிராமத்தில் குப்பான் சிட்டி.
- 9 கணக்கா யிட்டு இட்ட தள[ம்]-
- 10 ப் பணி திருவாளிமா[ற் ப]-
- 11 ன் சுவாமியை சதரசெர்வை[வ] [n*]

Translation.

On the 13th day of the month of Āvaṇi in the (Kollam) year 961, which was a Thursday with nakshatra Aśvati, the work of paving the floor in front of the *ottaikkal-maṇḍapa* in the temple at Tiruppattisāram, was the service (done) to the god Tiruvāḷimārbaṇ by Kuppāṇ-chitti of Pillaiyārkkōyil-grāmaṁ in Kalkuḷam.

No. 48—Kulitturai inscription.

This inscription is engraved on a rock in the north side of the Siva temple at Kulitturai. It is in the Vatteluttu alphabet and the Tamil language. It is not dated in any Kollam year, but may, on palaeographical considerations, be assigned roughly to the 15th century A. D. It records an assignment of money and lands by a native of Ayiramanṇam for feeding brahmins.

Text.²

- 1 கர்க்கடக ஞாயிற்று அமாவாசி நாள் நாகமங்ங-
- 2 லத்து தெவன் தெவன் பனையரிக்கண்ட மு[ம்*] நடை-
- 3 ன் [து]டவலும் அயிரமற்றத்து அக்கிரமந் தெவனா-
- 4 ல் ஒற்றிகொண்டு யெ பிராமணர் அமுர்து செய்-
- 5 ததினனு கல்ப்பிச்சு ஒற்றியோலை இரண்டுலும் அ-
- 6 ச்சு நாலெகால் நிலம் முக்குறுணி அயிரமன்றத்-
- 7 து கெசவங் கு[ன்]றமைமெல் உரி அரி செலவினன் அயிர-
- 8 மன்றத்து பத்தபைன் திருவிக்கிரமன் வெண்டம் அ-
- 9 ச்சு அஞ்சு [*] செறுகுண்டீர் குளகிழைக் கவி ஒபாதிக்கு
- 10 புவழி
- 11 நெல் நால்குறுணி பாகொட்டு கொடவறைமண் புரைய்
- 12 யடமு மகின்மெலு மகின்கீழ் கண்டத்தின் மெலு[ம்*] வி-
- 13 ரிச்சிக விளக்கின்னு எண்ணை மடை அறுநாழி அ-

1 Registered as No. 64 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. B.

2 Registered as No. 26 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. B.

3 Perhaps we have to read விக்கிரமந்.

4 Read இரண்டாலும்.

- 14 ஸ் நரழி வெற்றினை அடைக்காய் நூறும் மருதறைவ்வ-
 15 ளாகதநின் மெல் எண்ணை மு[ந்நாழி] அரி நா[ழி] உரி
 16 சூழூர் கொண்ணிரத்கறை உழுதி மெல் வடக்கின் தெவர்-
 17 க்கு ளிரி[சு*]சிக விளக்கின்னு நல்லெண்ணை மடை பந்திருநா-
 18 ழி திரு அத்தாழ திருவடிர்தின்னு நெல் [க]லம்
 19 மருதன் கொட்டு காலறை உழுதிமெல் பூவழி தெவர்க்கு நெல்
 20 [நா]ழி புதுமனைப் பரையடத்தின் மெல் திங்கள் வாரம் அ-
 21 ம்பலத்தில் அந்திவிளக்கின்னு நெய் நாழி உரி கடந்தான்கொ-
 22 ட்டு.ன்மெல் விள[நூலில் நிற] வித்து கடமையால் நெல் கலம்
 23 பாறலுவரள் பத்தக்கின[டத்து] கழு[ங்]கரைக்[கொ]ட்டின் மெலு-
 24 ந் தெக்கின் தெவர்க்கு நந்தாவிளக்கிமர² நெய் [நா]ழி³
 25 செருப்பா[த்ய]றை மெல் பத்தனாபன் குட்டன்
 26 வெண்டு[ம்*] அச்சு
 27 உளஉருநு

Translation.

On the day of the new-moon in the month of Karkātaka, Vikkīraman-
 Dēvan of Āyīramanṇam, having obtained on mortgage the fields Palaiyarikkandam
 and Ūmantuḍaval belonging to Dēvan-Dēvan of Nāgamaṅgalam, ordered the feed-
 ing of 12 brahmins and assigned 4½ *achchu* and 3 *kuruni* of land (incorrect for
 paddy) due on (his) two mortgage deeds. Padmanābhan-Tiruvikkīraman of Āyīra-
 manṇam received five *achchu* from (the yield of) Kunṇaraimuri of Kēśavan of Āyī-
 ramanṇam for (providing one) *uri* of rice.

Four *kuruni* of paddy at each harvest from the land under the tank of Śeṇu-
 kuṇḍūr, the yield from the *puraiyiḍam* of Koḍavaraiman in Pākōḍu as well as
 from the lands to the west and east of the same are for (the expenses of) six *nāḷi*
 of oil (as measured) by the *maḍai* for Vriśchika lamps, (one) *nāḷi* of rice, betel
 leaves, areca-nuts and chunam:

three *nāḷi* of oil and (one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* of rice from (the field called)
 Marudagai-vilāgam: 12 *nāḷi* of gingelly oil (as measured) by the *maḍai* from the
 field of Konṇirattarai in Sūlūr are for Vriśchika lamps in the northern shrine;

one *kalam* of paddy (from the same) is for the sacred night meal:

(one) *nāḷi* of paddy at each harvest from the field of Kāḷarai in Marudaṅ-
 kōḍu (is) for the (same) god;

(one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* of ghee from the Pudunāṇaippuraiyidam is for
 the twilight lamp to be lit on each Monday in the temple;

and (one) *kalam* of paddy given as assessment in kind from
 . . . of Kaḍandāṅkōḍu (is also for the same item).

Pattanābhan-Kuṭṭan of Śeruppādiyarai received 225 *achchu* from (the in-
 come of) Kamugaraikkōḍu on the southern side, in order to supply (one) *nāḷi* of
 ghee for burning (one) perpetual lamp in the southern shrine as ordered by the
 people of Pārālūr.

1 வ looks like ன.

2 There is some mistake committed in engraving what looks like கிமர.

3 This may also be read as கடு but நாழி is the correct reading.

No. 49—Three Chera Coins.

In the Report of the Travancore Archæological Department for 1920-21, Mr. K. V. Subramanya Ayyar, the Superintendent, has the following note on three copper coins unearthed recently in a village in the Travancore State.—

“Mr. Abraham, Vakil, and Mr. Vurghese, Teacher, brought to me three old copper coins for examination. The coins belong to a heap found deposited in a mud-pot kept underground at Parur near Alangad. The pot was unearthed, I am told, by a farmer, while digging a field. The coins appear to be very old. They bear no legends. While two of them are almost semi-circular, the third is slightly square in shape. The obverse has a standing figure of a tusker facing the right; and a staff tipped with a trident is placed in front of it. The reverse of all the coins bears a lamp-stand or a goad and arrow strung to a bow, the top string of the latter being very visible.”

These coins were taken up by me for closer study and my observations on them are noted below so as to help further examination, if other specimens of the same type should become available on some future occasion.

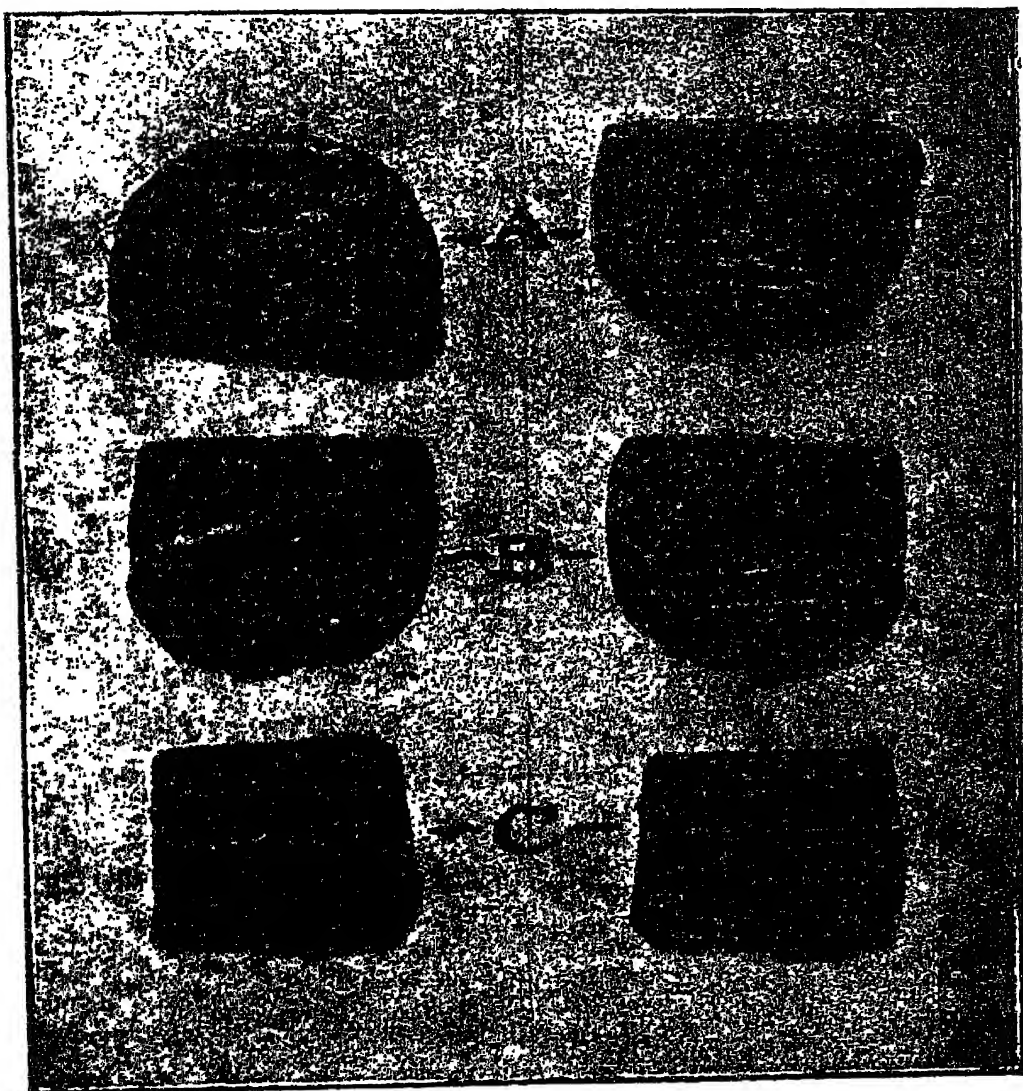
All the three specimens are debatable coins, but owing perhaps to the carelessness of the man employed with the pot, the coins do not unfortunately bear the full impress of the dies. The square coin is slightly thicker than the two semi-circular ones. One of the semi-circular type (shown as A) and the square coin (shown as C) have on their obverse a well-executed figure of a standing elephant facing the right and represented in its natural quality of outline, unhampered by any ornamental trappings. In front of it is placed a flag-staff from the top of which a standard *dhvaja* is hanging down with a curling fold at its extremity. In the plain field above the elephant device, the following symbols are figured from left to right:—

- (1) a symbol which consisting of a central dot surrounded by a circle of eight depressions contiguously arranged, may, as in other instances, be taken to represent an expanded lotus;
- (2) a *Srastika* symbol;
- (3) a device similar to that figured on a coin of Janapadāsa (No. II of Plate IV of *Rapson's Coins*), the significance of which has not been explained by that author, but which may be taken to stand for a *vajra*, a *linga* on its pedestal, or better still, a small lighted lamp;
- (4) the Crescent, and
- (5) the Sun.

On the reverse are found:—

- (1) an *aṅkuṣa* or elephant-goad in the form of a spear of short haft and hooked end;
- (2) a bow of the five-bends type with a metal-tipped arrow strung into position on the bow-string, which is represented as fluttering forward in two spiral strands from the top notch of the bow;
- (3) a *bhadrakhaṭa* or a *pūrṇakumbha* and
- (4) an obliterated figure which has a resemblance to the Buddhist *triratna* symbol.

THREE_CHERA COINS.



Same size.

A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

The other coin shown as B on the plate has only the elephant and the flag on its obverse and the absence of the other five symbols, which may either have become defaced or been omitted, would perhaps suggest that this specimen belonged to an earlier type than its companion A.

Presumably owing to its association with royalty and to its forming an important component of the four-fold army of ancient India, the elephant was adopted by more than one dynasty of kings as its numismatic device and we therefore find this royal quadruped represented on the early punch coins,¹ on the coins of the Āndhra,² the Yādava,³ and the Koṅga⁴ dynasties, on the coins and copper-plate seals of the Gaṅgas,⁵ and Vijayanagara kings⁶, on the Mysore issues—both Indian⁷ and Muhammadan,⁸ and on the coins of the Western Punjab and the Kabul valley⁹. The Chēras in particular, had a special partiality for this lord of their own forests, at once the source of their strength and wealth, and this is evidenced by the adoption by some of the kings of this dynasty of certain distinguishing epithets connected with this quadruped. The bow and arrow was also their special device and they were called in consequence the *villavar*. The presence therefore of the elephant on the obverse and the bow and arrow on the reverse distinctly suggests that the coins under review must be of Chēra origin and, according to Rapson,¹⁰ of a period anterior to 1090 A. D; but in the absence of any elucidatory legends on the coins themselves, their age cannot be fixed with any tolerable accuracy, unless helped by further data from future finds. The general appearance and style of the coins would, however, suggest their being dated one or two centuries earlier than the later limit noted above, and may have been the forerunners of the coins mentioned in para 5 below.

The symbols figured on the coins deserve some notice. The elephant (an emblem of royalty), the lotus¹¹ (the Indian traditional symbol of mysterious birth) and the *svastika*¹² (the philosophical symbol of evolution) are among the eight objects of auspiciousness¹³. The crescent and the sun are generally figured on the tops of copper-plate and lithic inscriptions as emblems of permanence and are cited as eternal witnesses of mundane affairs in the expressions '*āchandrārkaṁ*' and '*chandrādityar-ullavarai*'. Their introduction on Chēra coins has perhaps the

- 1 Nos. 4 and 6 on Plate I of Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*.
- 2 No. 43 on Plate II, *Ibid*.
- 3 No. 92 on Plate III, *Ibid*.
- 4 Nos. 118 and 119, *Ibid*.
- 5 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX. p. 304.
- 6 No. 117 on Plate III, of *E. C. S. I.*
- 7 Henderson's *Coins of Haider and Tippu*.
- 8 Nos. 1 and 2 on Plate III, of Rapson's *Coins of Southern India*.
- 9 Rapson, p. 36.
- 10 *A Guide to Sanchi*, page 41.
- 11 Havell's *Architecture of India*, page 17.
- 12 There are different lists, but the following verse is from the *Jīvakaśāstram*:

பரந்தொனியுமீழும் பைம்பொற் கண்ணடி பதாகை தோட்டி
விரிந்திருண்மேயுஞ் செம்பொன் விளக்கு வெண்முரசு கும்பஞ்
சுந்தவெண்மதியைச்சூன்று சுதிரிகொண்டு தொகுத்தபோலும்
பொருந்து பொற்குதிர்பெய்கற்றை புணர்சயல் போந்தவன்றே— *Chandraravattaiyār*, v. 137.

additional significance, if such was intended, of suggesting the Chêra's descent from the Chandrādityakula,¹ the luni-solar race. The *aṅkuśa*² (Tamil-*tōṭṭi*) 'a sign of authority and of selective discrimination' occurs in company with the other items of royal paraphernalia such as a pair of chowries and a state-umbrella in the seals of many copper-plate grants. The *pūrṇakumbha* or the *amṛitakalāśa*, a vessel of consecrated water with a bunch of green mango leaves inserted into its mouth, is one of the auspicious signs of plenty and prosperity and is generally found flanked by a pair of lighted lamps. It occurs in this combination in the seal of the Kcḍlūr plate³ of the Gaṅga king Mārasimha.

We know that a coin called the '*āṇai-achchu*' which, as its name implies, was a die-struck coin stamped with an elephant's figure,⁴ was current both in the Koṅgu-maṇḍalam⁵ and in the West Coast in the 12th and 13th centuries; but there is reason to believe that it must have been of a far higher denomination than the small copper coins under reference and that it must have been also of more precious metal than copper. It is also understood that it superseded another coin called the '*śiriyakki-achchu*' of an older system of currency, which had the figure of a *yakshī* embossed on it and whose design was perhaps influenced by Ceylon issues. *Uṇḍi-achchu* and *amudaṇ-achchu* were two other coins current at that time; but their relative values are not ascertainable, except that the later was a golden coin and that 53 of the former was the annual interest on 707 *āṇai-achchu*, but as the rate of interest per cent has not been mentioned, it is not possible to ascertain their relative values.

No. 50.—Copper-plate record of Kollam 925.

The subjoined copper-plate record is kept in the Palace Chellamvagai at Trivandrum and purports to be the deed relating to the sale of some lands in Puliyanturuttu by Kumaraṇ-Śrīkanṭhan Tirumūlpāḍ of Maññāḍu to Davidaikkal Parādēsi. In another copy of the same document written on cadjan in the Malayālam characters and found among the *ōlai* bundles in the same place, the purchaser is stated to have been a resident of Cochin (*kocheṇṇil-kudī-irikkum*). In either case, it is not known why the document should have found its way into the Palace records, and to what nationality the purchaser belonged. Dāvīda may be phonetically equivalent perhaps to David.

The language and script of the record are Malayalam; and it is noticeable that the verbs have not discarded their personal suffixes as in modern Malayalam; cf. *konḍāṇ* in l. 8.

1 *Madras Epig. Report* for 1910, page 59.

2 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, page 294.

3 Plate X of the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1921.

4 Cf. the *āṇai-paisa* of Mysore-Elliott's *Coins*, page 105.

5 *Madras Epigraphical Reports* for 1912 and 1916 and *Trav. Archl. Series*, Part I, Vol. III.

COPPER PLATE DATED KOLLAM 925.

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A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

Scale: one-half.

Text.

First side.

1 കൊല്ലം നൂറു മത ചിങ്ങത്തൊട്ടിൽ എഴുതിയ അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റോലക്കര-
ണമാവിത [] മൂലം അടുത്ത കുമരൻ ചിരികളെ തിരുമുൽപ്പാട്ടിൽ
കെ-

2 വാവിൽ കാര്യത്തിലേക്കുള്ള പുലിയത്തുരുത്തിൽ എഴുത്തിനെ താഴത്തെ-
ത്തൊട്ടിന്നും തുരുത്തുരപള്ളിക്കും പടി-

Second side.

3 തൊട്ടി വടക്കെപ്പുഴക്കു തെക്കൊട്ടി പടിഞ്ഞാറെപ്പുഴക്കു കിഴക്കൊട്ടി ചാ-
ത്തൊട്ടത്തെ തൊട്ടിന്നു വ-

4 തെക്കൊട്ടി ഇന്നാലതിക്കത്തകപ്പെട്ട അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റത്തവും വാങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ടു
അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റാകെ എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്തിത കെ-

5 വാങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ടു അമ്മാക്കമെ കൊവിൽ കാര്യത്തിലേക്കുള്ള പുലിയത്തു-
രുത്തിൽ എഴുത്തിനെ താഴ-

6 തെക്കൊട്ടിന്നും തുരുത്തുരപള്ളിക്കും പടിഞ്ഞാട്ടി വടക്കെപ്പുഴക്കു തെ-
ക്കൊട്ടി പടിഞ്ഞാറെപ്പുഴക്കു

7 കിഴക്കൊട്ടി ചാത്തൊട്ടത്തെ തൊട്ടിന്നു വടക്കൊട്ടി ഇന്നാലതിക്കത്തകപ്പെട്ട
അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റത്തവും

8 കൊടുത്ത അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റാകെ എഴുതിച്ചു കൊണ്ടു അവിതയ്ക്കല്ലരതെചി
ഇമ്മാക്കമെ ഇന്നാ-

9 ചതിക്കത്തകപ്പെട്ട കൽ കരട കാഞ്ചിരക്കറ്റിയും മുര മുരട മുരക്കുപ്പരവും
നെല്ലു നീർ നീയി മുരവെടും ക-

10 ടും മീമ്പടും തുറയും തെൻവെടും ചെലയും ആരവെടും വഴിയും
നീർവെടും കാലും ആറും-

11 വയ്പ്പും അരിയും പരമ്പും അറ തറ കിണ്ണറാകാല പർത്താളവും ഇന്നാല-
തിക്കത്തകപ്പെട്ട തെപ്പെട്ടെട്ട-

First side (contd.)

12 തും കൂടി അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റത്തവും വാങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ടു അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റാകെ എഴുതിക്കൊ-
ടുത്തിത കൊവിൽക്കൊരിയത്തി-

13 ന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കമെ ഇന്നാലതിക്കത്തകപ്പെട്ട കൽ കരട കാഞ്ചിരക്കറ്റിയും

മുറ മുരട മുരക്കപ്പരമ്പം നെല്ല നീര നി-

- 14 ധി മാൻപെടും കാട്ടും മീൻപെടും തുറയും തെൻപെടും ചൊലയും ആരും
പൊകും വഴിയും നീർപൊകും കാലും
- 15 അതിരും വരമ്പും ആറുവയ്പും അറ തറ കിണറുകാല ചാത്താലയും
ഇന്നാലതിക്കത്തകപ്പെട്ട തെപ്പെപ്പെട്ടതും
- 16 കൂടി അട്ടിപ്പെറാകെ എഴുതിച്ച കൊണ്ടാൻ ഭാവിതതുകൊൽ[പരമേശി*][11*]
ഇപ്പരിചെ എഴുതിക്കൊ-
- 17 ഞമെയിക്കും ഇത കാവുകെൽ പറമ്പത്ത ഉണ്ണി ചിരകണ്ടെൻ കയ്യു-
ത്ത [11*]

Translation.

This is the title-deed given with libation of water in the Sinha month of the Kollam year 925.

For the lands in Puliyanturuttu within the four boundaries:— to the west of the garden below the *Elaññi* and *Turutturapalli*, to the south of the northern channel, to the east of the western channel and to the north of the garden of *Sāttōḍu*—which were under the management of *Kumaran-Sirikaṇḍan Tirumūlpād* of *Māññāḍu*, the purchase money was received and the lands were given as *aṭṭippēru* (with libation of water).

Thus for these lands in Puliyanturuttu within the four boundaries— to the west of the garden behind *Elaññi* and *Turutturapalli*, to the south of the northern channel, to the east of the western channel and to the north of the garden in *Sāttōḍu*—the purchase money was paid by and the title-deed was drawn up for *Dāvida-ikkel-paradēsi*. In this manner, the stones, crags, stumps of nux-vomica trees, thistles, waste lands, paddy, water (-sources), treasure-trove, woodlands haunted by deer, water patches infested with fish, gardens abundant with honey, footpaths, channel-beds, river deposits, boundary limits and ridges, buildings, field sites, wells, and all that exist above and below the ground surface: for all these items within the four boundaries, the purchase money was received and the freehold title-deed was drawn up and given.

In this manner for the stones, crags, stumps of nux-vomica trees, thistles, waste lands, paddy, water (-sources), treasure-trove, woodlands haunted by deer, water patches infested with fish, gardens abundant with honey, footpaths, channel-beds, boundary limits and field-ridges, river deposits, buildings, wells and all that exist above and below the ground surface within these four boundaries, the title-deed was drawn up and obtained by *Dāvida-ikkel-paradēsi*.

This is the signature of *Unni-Srīkaṇṭhan* of *Kāvuṅgal-parambu* (as witness) for writing this deed in this manner.

No. 51—Ilamba record of Vira Marttanda Ravivarman: Kollam 781.

The subjoined record which is engraved on the west base of the *mandapa* in front of the Siva temple at Ilamba is in the Malayalam script and language. It is dated in the Kollam year 781 in the reign of the king Vira Mārttāṇḍa Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi, and relates to the construction of certain additional buildings to the new temple at Ilamba.

Text.

- 1 ഇളവൈ പുതിയകോയിക്കൽ ശ്രീവീരമാർത്താണ്ഡ
- 2 ഇരവിവർമ്മ തിരുവടിക്കുമെന്ത കൊയിക്ക-
- 3 നീകെൾ ചെയ്യിച്ചു തിരുപ്പണി നെയ്യധമ മാണ്ട
- 4 ഇടവമാസത്തിൽ തുടങ്ങി തളവും ചുവരും മ-
- 5 ണ്ടവയും പണിചെയ്യിച്ചു [എ]ധന മാണ്ട കലശ്ശു[||*].

Translation.

The works which were added to the new temple at Ilamba by the officers of the king Śrī Viramārttāṇḍa Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi in charge of the temple, namely, the paving, walls and the *mandapa* which were commenced in the Rishabha month of the (Kollam) year 781, were completed and the consecration ceremony was in the year [78]3.

No. 52—Other pillar labels in the same temple.

The four inscriptions noted below are engraved on the pillars in the *nāl-ambalam* of the Siva temple in the same village of Ilamba; and though they are not important mentioning, as they do, the names of the donors of the particular pillars, they have been published here with a view to bring together all readable records, both ancient and modern. The alphabet of the inscriptions is Malayalam in the first three instances and Tamil in the case of the fourth.

A.	B.
1 വരിക്കംപ.	1 നാണി
2 ലി ഇരാമപ്	2 ചെലവര-
3 പിള്ള ചെയി	3 യപ്പി-
4 ചിപ്പി തുണ	4 ഇള ചെ-
	5 യിപ്പി തുണ

1 Registered as No. 123 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. R.

A. B. C. D.—Registered as Nos. 124 to 127 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. R.

C.	D.
1 അവകെ-	1 அது உரு
2 இது உரி-	2 முக்காணி
3 கமரம் கெ-	3 கலதின
4 உவம் உ-	4 நல்ல
5 யிது இள	5 ப் பெருமாள்
	6 எ- ஆண்ட

No. 53—Suchindrum Plate of Kollam 621.

The subjoined inscription is engraved in Tamil characters on both sides of a single sheet of copper-plate, measuring $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$, which had owing to its thinness got broken at a third of its length and has now been joined together by small rivets. The original is understood to be in the possession of a private individual at Suchindram employed as a temple official; but the record is edited here from an ink-impression of it preserved in this office.

It is dated in both the Śaka and Kollam eras and as the Kollam year is clearly indicated as 621 which corresponded to the cyclic year Raktāksha (given incorrectly in the record as *Rartīcha*), the Śaka equivalent ought to have been 1367, which is wrongly entered as 137. The engraving is slovenly and the alphabet appears to be somewhat later than the first half of the 15th century A. D. The astronomical details give the English date A. D. 1444, October 3; but the week-day was Saturday and not Monday as noted in the record.

Among the orthographic peculiarities may be mentioned the incorrect use of *r* in places requiring only its softer equivalent, the transformation of Sanskrit words into vulgar Tamil forms such as *āṭchandira* for *āchandra*, *Rartīcha* for *Raktāksha*, *detṭhaṇṇāyina* for *dakṣiṇāyana* etc. In the last two lines at the end of the plate the '*eḷuttu*' has been written in a degenerated Vatteḷuttu script, which was apparently the futile attempt of the engraver who was not conversant with that alphabet. The repetition of that word seven times probably shows that there were seven *sthānattārs* to the temple, whose individual signatures the several *eḷuttu* were intended to represent.

The object of the record was to register the fact that certain *yōḡippara-dēsis* or religious mendicants were appointed to the office of *āṇavāl* of the temple at Suchindram. ¹*Āṇavāl* (or *āṇaivāl*, *āṇaivāl* as noted in this record) is the name now given to brahman managers of temples. The personal attendants of the Rajas

1. This word occurs in a record of Bhūtappāṇḍi in the sense of a subordinate official. It has probably to be derived from *āṇai* (skt. *ājñā*). *Āṇiyam* and *āṇatti* (skt. *ājñapti*) occur in Huzur Office plates of Karunāṇḍakkan. *Āṇavāl* is divisible into *āṇai* + *vāl* and may be analogous to the suffix in *nāḷuvāl* and *vāḷḷikai-vāl* of records. *Āṇavāl* occurs in Telugu records, where it means 'evidence or credentials'.

who are generally of the brahman caste are also called *āṇavāl*—*agattu-āṇavāl* and *purattu-āṇavāl* according to the place of their service, in the king's antechamber or outside. In the present record, the *yōgipparadēsis* who were apparently Śūdras appear to have been entrusted with specific duties such as the conduct of certain temple festivals from some revenue collected on the temple lands. The introduction of some slightly supernatural element in the document, namely that the orders emanated from the god Suchīndramuḍaiya-Nayinār and Ten-Tiruvēṅgaḍa-Euiberunāṅ:—

‘சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் கிருமூங்கிலடியில் அனுக்கிரகமானகாலத்து’
and ‘பதிப்பிச்சுக் குடுக்கும்படிக்கு தென்திருவேங்கடவிண்ணவர் எம்பெருமான் அனுக்கிரகமானபடிக்கு’—

as well as the more modern appearance of the letters tempt one to question the correctness of the alleged age of the plate. No king's name is mentioned in the record. This record is not found copied on the rock in the temple.

Text.¹

First side.

- 1 சகாத்தம் [ஹ்ரா] [சுமே] என் மெல்ச் செல்லாநின்ற தனுஷியாழம் மிதி
னச்சனி கொல்லம் சுய[உ]மே ஹம் [றம்] தீட்ச ஹ தெட்ச-
- 2 ஹயினமான அல்பசி [ஹ்ரா] [சுமே] சொமவாரமும் புணர்பூசநட்செத்திறமும்
திதி பூவபட்ச்சத்து சத்தமியும் சித்திரித்திய நாமயொகமும் ஆ-
- 3 ஹைகரணமு[ம்*] பெற்ற ஹன் ஹ பகல் மச நாளிகையில் தனராசி நெர
த்தில் நயினார் சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் ஆட்செந்திரகால-
- 4 மும் ஆள்கொண்டயொகிப்பரதெசிகள் பெர் உமே ம் ஆனைவாளாகக்
கண்டுகொள்ளுமபடிக்கு நயினார் சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் திரு-
- 5 மூங்கிலடியில் அனுக்கிரகமான காலத்திலுக்கந்த அடிமைகள் யொகிப்பர
தெசிகளென்று செம்பிலுஞ் சிலையிலுந் திருவறையிலும்
- 6 காணும்படிக்கு ஆட்செந்திரகாலமும் கையக்கொண்டு நயினார் சுசீந்திரமு
டைய நயினார் கொவிலுக்கு நயினார் தெசமாயிட்டு
- 7 உள்ளதுக் கெல்லாந் கெழுவியு மாச்சினையுமாக தூம் பணமும் பிரி
பிடிச்சு நயினாருடைய அடியெந்தரமெல்லாம் நடத்தும்-

Second side.

- 8 படிக்கு இருவாரமும் அடங்கின காராமை நிலம் உமே ன்படிக்கு உ-
கொட்டை இருபத்துமூனும் ஆட்டவிசெஷமாக விசெ-
- 9 ஷத்தில்த் தானத்துக்கு அடுக்க படித்தாரும் மென்மெலும் அடியெந்தி-
ரம் பொலெ காராமை அதிகமும் பதிப்பிச்சுக் குடுக்கும்படிக்கு
- 10 தென்திருவேங்கடவிண்ணவர் எம்பெருமான் அனுக்கிரகமானபடிக்கு நயி
னார் சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் கொவிலுக்கு
- 11 யொகிப்பரதெசிகள் பெர் உமே-ம் ஆச்செந்திரகாலமும் ஆனைவாழாக
நடக்கும்படிக்கு செம்பிலுஞ் சிலையிலும் வெட்டி-

1 Registered as No. 13 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

2 The week-day is found to be Saturday and not Monday in the *Ephemeris*.

- 12 பஞ்சகக் குடுத்தொம் நயினார் சசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் கொவிலுக் குகந்த
தானத்தார்கள் ஐஹித்
- 13 எழுத்து எழுத்து எழுத்து ஐஹித் எழுத்து எழுத்து
- 14 செ கணக்கு தானுமாயைப்பெருமாள் திருவெங்கடம் எழுத்து [11*]

Translation.

On the 5th day of the month of Alpasi of Raktāsha (Raktīcha) corresponding to the Kollam year 621 which was current after Śaka 13[6*]7 had expired and in which year Jupiter was in Dhanus and Saturn in Mithuna—on this day, which was a Monday with the saptami-tithi of the first fortnight, nakshatra Punarpūsam, siddhinityanāma-yōgam and ānaikkaraṇam, at 14-nāḷigai midnoon at the time of Dhanu-rāsi:—

the god Suchīndramuḍaiya-Nayinār having been pleased, at the foot of the sacred bamboo (*tirumūṅgil*), to order the appointment of the twenty-three *Aṭkonḍa-yōgipparadēsiḡal* as *āṇaiṇāḷ* (of the temple) so long as the moon endures, it was accepted to last as long as the moon and this fact was made public (by being engraved) on copper, stone, and on the sacred rock.

Having collected 1000 *paṇam* by *kēlvi* and *āchchīnai* on all lands belonging to the temple of Suchīndramuḍaiya-Nayinār, and Ten-tiruvēṅgaḍa-viṇṇavar Emberumāṇ also having been pleased to order that the *kārāṇmai* on certain lands which was 23 *kōṭṭai* of 21 (*marakkāl*) was to be utilised for the festivals, the *kārāṇmai* being increased proportionately to the expenditure of the festivals, we, the selected *tāṇattār* of the temple of Nayinār Suchīndramuḍaiya-Nayinār had the fact engraved on copper and stone, that the 23 *yōgipparadēsis* were appointed as the *āṇaiṇāḷ* of the temple as long as the moon.

These are our signatures. This is the writing of the accountant Tāṇu-mālaiyaperumāḷ Tiruvēṅgaḍam.

No. 54—Inscription of Parthivapuram.

The subjoined inscription in Vaṭṭeluttu is engraved on the base of the *surru-maṇḍapa* (outside) at the proper left of the entrance into the Vishṇu temple at Pārthivapuram. It is incomplete and seems to register gift of land for maintaining Vriśchika lamps in the temple, ordered to be put up by Kāman-Taḍakkaṇ, a native of Kuṇṇattūr. The temple at Pārthivaśekharaapuram was, as we know, constructed by Karunandadakkaṇ, an Āy chief ruling over the eastern hilly region of the Travancore State. It is noteworthy that the donor in the present record is named Taḍakkaṇ and not as Aḍakkaṇ. It cannot be stated whether this individual who made a gift of lands to the temple at Pārthivaśekharaapuram, was himself in any way connected with the Āy family.

1 The words *eluttu* which are repeated five times in this line are in the Vaṭṭeluttu script.

2 *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 7.

Text.¹

- 1 ஸ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ [1*] இடபத்தில் வியாழ நின்ற யாண்டு குன்றத்தூர் காமந் த
டக்கன் பார்த்திவசெகரபுரத்து தெவர்க்கு
- 2 அட்டிய மிருச்சிய² விளக்குக்கு எருக்கி[லை] மண்ணென்ற தொட்டமும்
புவை தடியிரண்டும் உதிக்கால்மண்கொட்டும் குலக்குடிப்பழ-³

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year in which Jupiter stood in Rishabha, Kāmaṇ-
Taḍakkaṇ of Kuṇṇrattūr (ordered to be) put up (in the temple) of Pārthivaśēkhara-
purattu-dēva, *vr̥śc̥hika* lamps; and for (them) the garden called Erukkilaimaṇ
together with two *taḍi* of Puṇṇavarai as well as Udikkālmaṇkōḍu

Tirukkadittanam Records.

Tirukkadittanam which is one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* sacred to Viṣṇu in Malai-maṇḍalam, is a village two miles to the east of Chenganacheri, a taluk-station of the Travancore State. The god of the temple has been glorified in a hymn of Nammālvār, who has also commemorated the adjacent Viṣṇu temples of Tiruvalla, Tiruvavundūr, etc. The *Māraṇalan̄kūram*¹ of Tirukkurukaippirāṇ and the *Nūṛreṭṭu-tiruppati-antūdi*² of Pillaipperumāl-Ayyangār have also one verse each in praise of this place. The temple which dates itself epigraphically from the time of the Chōra king Bhāskari-Ravivarman *i. e.* from the closing years of the 10th century, must have existed, though not necessarily in its present form, much earlier from the beginning of the 9th century at least, as it was visited by Nammālvār. The village has been described in the *Tiruvāymoli* as surrounded by brahman habitations resounding with the hum of the Vedic chants, but there are no other details in that decade of verses which are of historical value. It is worth noting that, while all these authorities call the village by the name of

1 Registered as No. 78 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1087 M. E.

2 Read விருச்சிய.

3 The inscription is incomplete.

4 மண்டாரழற்கான் மழைதழைக வான் பொருள்வாழ்
வண்டாக நீ குறித்ததொப்பென்று—லண்டர்
மருந்தே பெறப் புந்தமால் கடித்தானத்தா
னிருந்தே திறந்தேதிதற்கு.

—*Māraṇalan̄kūram*, v. 523.

5 காணவிரும்புமென்கண் கையுந்தொழுவிரும்பும்
பூணவிரும்புமென்றன் புன்றலேதான்—வாணன்
நிருக்கடித்தானத்தான்கிரியான்றண்டான்
நிருக்கடித்தானத்தானைச் சொன்று.

—*Nūṛreṭṭu-Tiruppati-antūdi*, v. 72.

Tirukkāḍittānam, the *Kēraḷōḷppatti* and the *Uṇṇunīlīsandēśam*¹ give it the denomination of Trikkōḍittānam.

Several records of the temple belong to the reign of Bhāskara-Ravivarman, the last of the line of Chēra kings who wielded suzerain authority over the petty chieftancies of Malai-maṇḍalam and four of them have been published in Volume II of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*². But three of these have had to be re-edited now, as they have not been given in full in that volume and only their first lines have been published.

No. 55—Tirukkāḍittānam record of Ravi-Rama.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the walls of the central shrine at Tirukkāḍittānam and is dated in the year opposite the second year of king Ravi-Rāman. It is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet of about the time of the Chēra king Bhāskari-Ravivarman and is in the Tamil language which is but sparingly adulterated by an admixture of the usual Malayalam forms of words, the few instances occurring in it being—*vāḷinṇa*, *vāḷunna*, *irunna*, *amaiṇṇa*, *anmiṇṇa*, *oliṇṇa*, *pāḍu-tāṇṇuvidu*, *kalaṇṇu*, *nīkkinnu*, *eḷudichchidu*, *nittichchu*, which are used for the correcter Tamil words *vāḷukinṇa*, *vāḷinda*, *irunda*, *amaitta*, *amainda*, *oliṇda*, *pāḍu-tāṇṇuvadu*, *kalaṇṇu*, *nīkkiyura*, *eḷudivittadu* and *viduvittu*. It may be noticed that almost all of them are instances of surds changed into nasal equivalents, which was a common device used in the evolution of the Malayalam dialect. Grantha letters have been used only in a few cases: *svasti srī* at the beginning and the end of the inscription, *bhai* in *sabhai*, *śa* in *dēśakālam* in (l. 2) and *śabda* in *pañchamāśabdam* (l. 2).

Nīrāṭṭupallī is the god's bath, *pallī* being (according to Gundert) an honorific suffix to *nīrāṭṭu*=bath, when referring to the sacred bath of the god or of the king. *Nīrāṭṭupallī* might also mean the *abhishēka-maṇḍapa* (*pallī* signifying a room), but the use of the word in the present record and in other inscriptions makes the former meaning more appropriate. Provision was made in this temple for the sounding of the *pañchamahāśabda* at the time of the god's bath, akin to a similar provision made in the Tiruvalla plates,¹ where the five musical instruments, *jeṇḍai*, *timilai*, *śēgaṇḍi*, *kaittālam* and *kāḷam* have been mentioned. The Huzur office plates of Karunandaḍakkar however give another list of five instruments: *taṭṭālī*, *maddalī*, *karaiṇḍai*, *tālam* and *kāḷalam*.

Kōṭṭādu-pullippaḍil is an expression which may be taken to mean here 'if the sounding is rendered nought', *pulli* being a cipher in arithmetic. Or it may also suggest that a mark was entered in the temple register against the names of the defaulters (*pulli*=a mark, an entry) for the purpose of levying appropriate

1 മുക്കോലം ചെൻരിമയവർത്തോളം തിർക്കോടത്തനമസി.
തറക്കാർവണ്ണൻ ചരണയുഗളം കൂപ്പിനേരേരേടനാൻ

2 *J. T. A. S.*, Vol. II pp. 33, 36, 40 and 41.

— *Uṇṇunīlīsandēśam*, s. 126.

finer from them; and *pullippattavar* and *pullippatta-nel* (l. 2) will then mean, 'those against whom entries (of absence) had been made' and 'the paddy payable according to the default-entries'.

Pattāyam is a corn-chest. Gundert gives the meaning 'a large chest to keep rice', while Winslow also explains it similarly; but both seem however to suggest that the wording is of Portuguese origin. The use of the word in the present early record shows that it is an indigenous word. *Pattāyappura* and *pattāyakkeṭṭu* also mean the place where the corn-bins are kept standing. In the present record, a wooden granary which was the property of the temple and which had been kept at the disposal of the drummers for storing their grain was ordered to be got back from them in case they proved to be defaulters.

The title of *Nāyar*, the honorific plural of the word *Nāyan* (Skt. *nāyaka*) has been used here to denote the ruler of the district—*nāḍuvāḷṇa-nāyar* (l. 3).

The object of the inscription is to record the arrangements made for the sounding of the five great sounds (*pañcamāśabdam*) in the temple of Bhaṭṭāra at Tirukkadittanam, for which service certain lands were given by Śennaṅ-Tāyan of Teñchēri, who was the examiner or auditor of the temple accounts. The conditions and regulations relating to the proper conduct of the service were fixed by the *ār*, *pariḷai* and *sabhai* of the village which met in the temple under the presidency of Iyakkaṅ-Śrīkaṇṭhaṅ of Maṇalmaṇṇam, who was the governor of Naṅṅulai-nāḍu at the time. The penalty for the non-observance of the rules was fixed at varying grades of fines diminishing in geometrical progression:

100 *kaḷaṅṇu* of gold to the king (*perumāṇaḷigal*)

50 *kaḷaṅṇu* to the governor of the district (*nāḍuvāḷṇamavaṅ*) and

25 *kaḷaṅṇu* to the officer in immediate charge of the village (*vāḷḷkai-rāḷṇamavaṅ* namely, the *dēśavāḷi*)

That the temple must have had worship conducted in it for more than three times daily is evident from the fact that the absence of the *śrībali*-servants for three times during a day was visited with a fine of a quantity of paddy, whereas similar failure for the whole day was liable to a separate and perhaps a greater penalty. As in the Tiruvalla plates, the fines levied from the delinquent drummers were ordered to be paid to the *kīḷṣānti* in this case also.

It is a point worthy of note that the temple servants (*paṇimakkaḷ*) were authorised to set right any difficulties arising in the conduct of the service and if it was beyond settlement among themselves, the *ārāḷar* were to be called in for a decision. If, however, in the opinion of the servants any member of the *ārāḷar* was considered to be swayed by any prejudice or ill-feeling, the difficulties were to be solved in the immediate presence of the ruler of the district and the representatives of the *muṇṇāṭṭruvar*-assembly (of Naṅṅulai-nāḍu).

The lands intended for this service were also restricted from being either mortgaged or disposed of by sale.

The king Ravi-Rāmaṇ in whose third year (the year opposite the second year of reign), the record is dated is not identifiable; but on palaeographical

grounds, the record can be attributed to the 11th century and may be considered posterior to the time of Bhāskara-Ravivarman. As the date of accession and the length of reign of the latter have not been *definitely* ascertained, it cannot be said whether Ravi-Rāman was his actual successor, though it is not improbable. Between Bhāskara-Ravi (A. D. 978-1036) and Kulāśekhara of the Quilon record (A. D. 1102) there is a gap of half a century.

In the Tripūnittura temple in the Cochin State is found a lithic record dated in the 30th year of reign of king Kōdai-Ravi, and Ravi-Ādichchan, presumably a royal personage, is also mentioned therein. This record is also palaeographically attributable to the 12th century A. D., but one cannot say if the Ravi-Rāman of the Tirukkāṭṭānam record was connected with either of them.

On the west, south and east bases of the central shrine.

Text.¹

1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11*] கொ இரவிஇராமனுக்கு செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டிரண்டு இ
தின. நெதிராமாண்டு மினத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற சர்க்கட்குராயிற்று
திருக்கடத்தான் தூராரும் பரடையாரும் சபையாரும் நன்று[11*]
நாடு வாழின்ற மணல்மன்றத் தியக்கன் சிரிசண்டனும் இவர்கள் மு
க்கால்வட்டத்தி அவிர்ரோத[த*]தால்க் கூடிச் செய்த காரியமாவது
[11*] படாரருடைய பண்டாரம் கெட்ட தென்செரிச் செந்நந் தாய
னுடைய இடையிடும் அவன் குடி இருந்த புரையிடமு ஞாறல்வெலிக
ரியும் வட்டக்கரியும் பழிற்றாட்டியாகின்ற நிலத்தில் இவன்னுள்ள கூ
றும் தென்வார்ப் பலிக்கணத்தில்² அவன்னுள்ள படகாரமும் இச்
சொன்ன நிலமும் புரையிடமும் தென்செரிச் செந்நந் தாயனுடைய
யிடையி டித்தனையும் மற்றும் பினுள்ளதெல்லாம் உள்ளொடுங்க ஊ
ரும் பரடையும் ஸ்ரீயும் இவர்கள் திருவுள்ளம் அவிர்ரோதமாக்கி உ
ள்ளிருந்து நன்றுழை நாடு வாழின்ற மணல்மன்றத் தியக்கன் ஸ்ரீக
ண்டன்

பஞ்சமாஸுஷ் அமைச்சான் அமைச்ச பரிசாவது [11*] நிராட்டுபள்ளி
க்கு அய்வர் கொட்டுவது [11*] திருப்பலிக்கு நால்வர் கொட்டுவிது
[1*] கொட்டாது புள்ளிப்படிப்ப் பட்டவர் முந்நாழி நாழியால் இருநா
ழிச் செய்துநெல் தண்டமிடுவிது [1*] மூன்றுதென்காலமும் முட்டு
கில் இவ்வொபாதியால் எறின நெல் கொடுத்து கொட்டுவிது [1*]
ஒரு நாள் தெகிய முட்டுகில் இடங்கழியால் நாழி எண்ணை திருமெணி
மெலாட்டுவிது [1*] ஆட்டின எண்ணையில்ப் பாதியும் புள்ளிப்பட்ட
நெல்லும் கிழ்ச்சாந்தி செய்யுமவன் கொள்விது [1*] மற்றொழிஞ்சு
எண்ணை திருக்கொயிலுடையார் கொள்விது [1*] இப்பணி செய்

1 Registered as Nos. 90 of 1086 and 19 of 1097 of the Trav. Epig. Colln.

2 Probably பலிக்கண்டத்தில்.

3 Read 'பஞ்சமாஸுஷம்'—the five great sounds viz., *ṇendai*, *ṭimilai*, *ṣegandi*, *kaittaṭam* and *kaṭam*, compare the Tiruvalla plates, I, 352-3.

வான் அமைஞ்ஞ பணிமக்கள் அடுத்து முன்னாள் முட்டுகில் கிழ்ச்
சார்தியுடையவன் கிழ அமைஞ்ஞ பரிசு கொள்விது [1*] பலநாள் அ
டுத்து முட்டுகில் முட்டின ஆள[வ*] கண்ட ஊராளர் திருமேனி மெ
லாட்டிப்பிது [1*] இவ்வண்ணம் அமைச்ச பஞ்சமாஸஸும் விலக்கி மு
ட்டிக்குமவனும்

ஃ இதினுக் கமைஞ்ச பூமியும் புரையிடமும் பத்தாயமும் விடுவந்தாக [1*]
பாடுதாந்நுவிதாக செய்தவனும் இருகூறு பறையுமவனும் ஊரான்
மைக் கிடையிடுங் கெட்டு பெருமானடிகளுக்கு தூற்றுக் கழஞ்ஞ
பொன்னுந் நன்று[ை*]ழ நாடு வாழும்[வ*]ர்க்கு அயம்பதின் கழ
ந்நும் வாழ்க்கைவாழும்வனுக்கு இருபத்தைந் கழஞ்ஞ பொன் ற
ண்டப்படுவிது [1*] இப்பரிசின் நாடுவாழ்ந்ந நாயரும் முந்நாற்றுவரும்
பணியுடையவகளும் உள்ளிருந்து இக்கச்சம் எழுதிச்சிது [1*] பணிம
க்களும் இதினுக்கு வருந்துப்பு வி[ல*]க்கினும் வருவிது [1*] ஓயாயில்
ஊராளரெ திர்த்து கொடுப்பிது [1*] இவகளில் ஆகாதவண்ண மிரு
க்கில் நாடு வாழும்வரையும் முந்நாற்றுவரும் பணி உடையவகளையும்
உருவதிச்ச அவகளால் விட்டிச்சுக் கொள்விது [1*] இதினுக் கமை
ஞ்ஞ நிலம் ஒற்றி வைக்கவுங் கொள்ளவும் பெறார் [1*] வீவீழி மீ:—

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

When the year opposite to the second year of (the reign of) king Iravi-
Rāman was current, in the month of Karkāṭaka when Jupiter stood in Mīna, the
ūrār of Tirukkāḍittānam, the council (*paraḍai*), the (village) *sabhā*, and Iyakkaṇ-
Śīrikanṭhaṇ of Maṇalmanṇam governing Naṇṇulāi-nāḍu, met together amicably in
the temple and transacted the (following) business.

Having obtained the unanimous consent of the ūr, the *paraḍai* and the
sabhā for the following (pieces of land), namely,—the *iḍaiyiṇḍu* of Sēnnaṇ-Tāyaṇ
of Tenṣēri who audited the (accounts of the) temple-treasury, the site in which he
was residing, Jñāralvēlikari, Vaṭṭakkari, his portion in the land called Payirraṭṭi,
and his share as *paḍakāram* in Tenṣāyppalikkaṇ[d*]am—with all these above-
mentioned lands and sites together with the *iḍaiyiṇḍu* of Sēnnaṇ-Tāyaṇ of Tenṣēri,
Iyakkaṇ-Śīrikanṭhaṇ of Maṇalmanṇam governing Naṇṇulāi-nāḍu, who was present,
provided (in the following manner) for (sounding) the *pañcamahāśabda*.

Five (men) should sound during the (god's) bath (*nīrāṭṭupallī*) and four
(men) should sound during (the time of) the sacred *bali*.

Those that are absent (*pullippaḍu*) without sounding, shall pay a fine of
two measures of good paddy by the measure holding three *nāḷi*. If there is de-
fault for three occasions (during the day), they shall sound (only) after paying
the paddy that had accumulated under this restriction. If there is default
throughout the day, a fine of (one) measure of oil as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*
shall be (collected and) poured over the god. Half of this oil used for the (god's)
bath and the paddy accruing from default shall be taken by the person performing
(the work of) *kāḷṣānti*. The balance of the oil shall be taken by those in charge
of the temple (*tirukkōyiluḍaiyār*). If the servants (intended) for this service

(*pañchamahāśabda*) are remiss for three consecutive days, they shall be liable to the stipulated penalty under the (person officiating as) *kīlśānti*. If there is default for many days successively, the *ūrālar* shall (themselves) find the quantity of oil at default and shall have the god bathed with it.

He who causes this *pañchamahāśabda* constituted in this manner to be discontinued, shall relinquish the lands, sites and granary belonging to this (service). He who acts so as to support the side (of the above individual) and he who gainsays (the above terms) shall lose his tenancy rights (*iḍaiyīḍu*) under the *ūrānmai* and shall pay a fine of one hundred *kaḷañju* of gold to the king (*perumāṇaḍi*), fifty *kaḷañju* to the chief governing Nāṇṇulāi-nāḍu, and twenty-five *kaḷañju* of gold to the officer in immediate control (*vāḷḷkai-vāḷumavar*).

These regulations appertaining to this transaction were drafted in the presence of the Nāyar ruling the (Nāṇṇulāi)-nāḍu, the three-hundred, and the (temple) servants. The (temple) servants shall remove the hindrances arising to this (service). If not (so) freed by themselves the *ūrālar* shall settle (them). Should there be any objectionable individuals among them (the *ūrālar*), the difficulties shall be removed with the help and in the presence of the governor of the country (*nāḍuvāḷumavar*), the three-hundred and the (temple) servants.

The lands dedicated to this (gift) shall not be mortgaged or bought.

Hail! Prosperity!

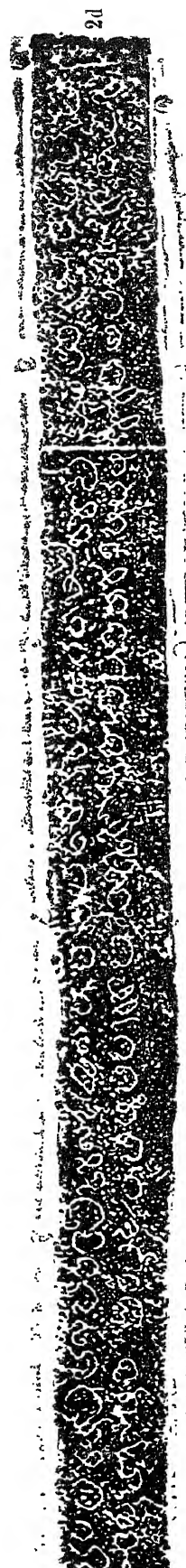
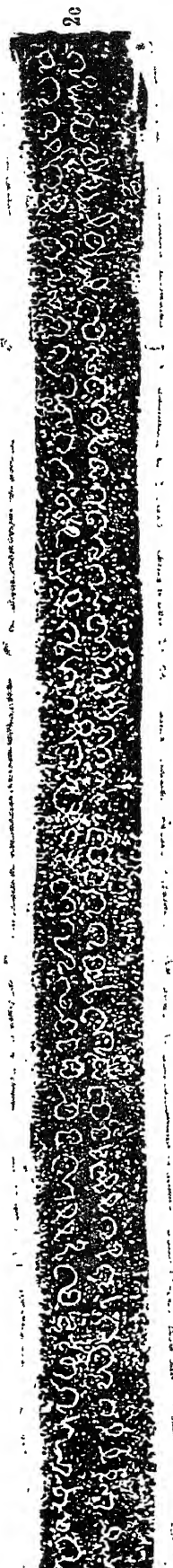
No. 56—Tirukkadittanam inscription of Bhaskara-Ravivarman.

The subjoined inscription from Tirukkadittāṇam is found engraved on the west and south walls of the central shrine in the Vishṇu temple of that village. As only a portion of its first line was published on page 33 of Volume II of the *Travancore Archæological Series* with the remark that the record is incomplete, it had to be copied anew, and from the better impression thus secured the record is now edited.

It is in the Tamil language and in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of the time of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman in whose 14th (2nd + 12th) year of reign it is dated. It registers that the *kōyiladhikāri* made a gift of the revenue in kind derivable from the village of Tirukkadittāṇam for feeding 24 brahmans in the temple, after deducting 12 *kalam*, which was set apart according to an earlier agreement for the payment of the impost to the ruler of the district. It is also stated that Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman, who was the governor of Vēnāḍu, was given administrative control over Nāṇṇulāi-nāḍu also. As Tirukkadittāṇam, Peruneyil and Tiruvanvaṇḍūr are all mentioned to have been within the jurisdiction of the chief of that division, this district should have comprised the country lying between and possibly extending somewhat beyond these villages. Gōvarddhana also figures in the Cochin plate of Bhāskara-Ravi, 2nd + 36th year (*Ep. Ind.*, iii, 68).

The term *kōyiladhikāriḡal* was evidently the designation of an influential officer, next in importance only to the king himself whom he represented, and who had control over the subordinate rulers of districts and small principalities, such as

TIRUKKADITTANAM RECORD OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN.



Scale: one-eighth.

amanatha Aggar.

Venādu, Nanrūlainādu etc. Such an office of power and responsibility will naturally have been bestowed on a member of the central ruling dynasty, possibly on the heir-apparent himself, whom this probation was calculated to put in proper preliminary administrative training. Thus we find Vijayarāga-deva figuring as a *kōyiladhikārī* in the records of Sthānu-Ravi, whom he must have eventually succeeded, and a Kulasekhara-chakravartin in a Quilon epigraph of Kollam 278. It is just possible that this office was synonymous with the other designation of *ilangūru-vāḷunnarūṭṭiār*, by which was meant that of the *ilankō* or heir-apparent to the throne who had under his administration the lesser half of the dominions (*ilankō-kūru, ilangūru*); and that these *kōyiladhikārīgaḷ* gradually lost some of their monopoly of influence, dwindling to the subordinate status of Devaswam Commissioners to control the affairs of several temples. The term seems to be almost a synonym of the word *talivādiri* of the *Keralōḷṭṭatti* and the *talivāḷvān* of inscriptions. The explanation has elsewhere¹ been offered that the office of *kōyiladhikārī* may have originated from the time when the Sāmanta-khatriya chiefs whose services had been requisitioned by the brahmanical landed gentry of Kēraḷa for the proper conduct of administrative business and for the preservation of the public peace, were originally placed in charge of the temple demesne by the *Saṅkētaṃ*s or (religious corporations), which had developed round the living nuclei of temples, and that these officers may have gradually monopolised much of the power from the hands of these assemblies over which they presided. Or it may be that they were put in charge of the palace management also (*kōyil*=palace) to deserve that designation. That some *kōyiladhikārīgaḷ* in their subordinate status were not necessarily members of the royal house, but were often also their agents and subordinates, seems to be evident from the fact that an inscription² of the time of Bhaskara-Ravi from Perumeyil mentions two individuals Ravi-Kanni of Vellūr and Kumara-Nārāyaṇa of Kulamaṅgalam as the *kōyiladhikārīgaḷ* and the interpretation making them to be mere engravers of the record on stone does not seem to be correct.

The peculiarities of the language of the document are not many except that the usual dialectical forms, such as, *amachchu*, *vāḷṇu* and *kalaṇṇu* are used in place of *amavittu*, *vāḷṇdu*, and *kalaṇṇu*.

Text.³

1 ஸ்ரீ [11*] கொப் பாக்கரணிர் விவரம் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண் டிரண்டாமாண்டைக் கெதிர பந்திராமாண்டு வெணுடுடைய
4 கொவரதனம் மார்த்தாண்ட[னை]. அகமச்ச நன்னுழைநாடு வாழ்ந்து திருக்கடித்தானத்தால் நாட்டினுக்கு ஆட்டுங்கொள்ளும் உடம்பாட்டால் வாழ்க்கை அக [பாட்ட] இடங்கழியால் பந்திரு கணநெல் ஆட்டைக்கொளாக அ[ை]மச்ச மிக்கது அட்டி கொடுத்து அது

1 *Madabār Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 116.

2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 44.

3 Registered as No. 18 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 M. R. (No. 94 of 1086).

4 Cancel ம.

5 The reading is tentative.

- 2 கொண்டு இருபத்துநாலு கல மக்கிர மமச்சருளிநர் கொவிலதிகாரிகள்
[11*] இப்பந்திருகலமும் நாடுவாழுமவர்க்கு ஊரும் பொதுவாளுங் கூ
ழக் கொடுக்ககடவியர் [11*] திருவக்கிரத்தினு விரோதம் பண்ணி மு
ட்டிக்கு மிடையிடன் கொயிலக்காரிகளுக்கு இருபத்தை(ம்)ங் கழை
ஞ்ஞு பொன்னு நாடுவாழுமவர்க்கு பந்திருகழைஞ்ஞு அஞ்சு காண
மு வாழ்க்கை வாழுமவர்க்கு அறுக-
- 3 கைஞ்ஞு இரண்டரைக் காணமும் ஆட்டைக்கொள்[வா]ர்க்கும் பொ
ன்னுங் கூடத் தண்டம்
- 4 படக்கடவியன் [11*] பாடுதாங்குமவறு மித்தண்டம் படக்கடவியன் பூ
[11*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

While the 12th year opposite the second year (of the reign) of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi was current, the Kōyiladhikāriḡal after having appointed Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍan who was governing Vēṇāḍu, to administer Nanṇulai-nāḍu (also), and after having apportioned twelve *kalam* of paddy as the (*āṭṭaikkoḷ*) yearly payment from (the village of) Tirukkāḍittānam according to agreement towards the impost (*vāḷkkai*-tax) due to the *nāḍu*, made a gift of the balance; and with this he was pleased to make provision (in the temple) for twenty-four plates of food (i. e., for feeding twenty-four persons).

The *ūr* and *poduvāḷ* shall together give this twelve *kalam* (of paddy) to the governor of the district (*nāḍu-vāḷumarar*).

The *iḍaiyāḍan* who does injury to this feeding and stops it, shall pay a fine of twenty-five *kaḷaṇḷu* of gold to the Kōyiladhikāriḡal, twelve *kaḷaṇḷu* and five *kāṇam* to the ruler of the District, six *kaḷaṇḷu* and two and a half *kāṇam* to the officer (*vāḷkkaivāḷumarar*) in immediate charge (of the village), and (one) *pon* to the collector of the annual impost.

He who abets (the above person at default) shall also be liable to the same fine. Śrī!

No. 57—Record of Bhaskara-Ravivarman: 2nd + 24th year.

The present record is also from the same Vishṇu temple at Tirukkāḍittānam and is found engraved in Vattēlutu on the south base of the central shrine. As the first two lines only of this inscription were published on page 40 of Vol. II of the *Trav. Archl. Series*, it had to be copied afresh, before a complete transcript could be prepared.

The record is dated in the 24th year opposite the 2nd year of reign of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, when Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman who was the governor of Vēṇāḍu was administering Nanṇulai-nāḍu as well. From the inscription published above, it is learnt that the latter district was added to the administrative jurisdiction of Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍa about twelve years previously,

in the 12th year opposite the 2nd year of reign of the same suzerain, Bhāskara-Ravivarman. From this, and from the Cochin plate it follows that Vēṇāḍu was ruled by Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman at least between Kollam 167 and 191.

The epigraph states that the *parishad*, the *gana* and the *poduvāl* of the temple at Tirukkaḍittānam met together and ordered that the holdings of the drummers (*kottigaḷ*) shall not be taken up for cultivation or on mortgage by the *kōyiluḍaiyār*, the supervisors of the temple, and that those who transgress this condition shall be punished by fines payable to the governor of the district and to the village chief.

The last sentence which states that the record was engraved at the instance of the *wachehars* or drummers shows that they had a grievance, as their holdings apparently been taken up by those in authority to their own disadvantage, and that they appear to have made their position secure by this restriction.

Text.

- 1 ஷஷி ஸ்ரீ [1*] கொபாற்கரனிரவிவர்மம் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டிரண்டினேதிர் இருபத்துநாலாமாண்டு வெணுடுடைய கெரவர் த்தனபா [ர்த்] தாண்டன் நன்றுமுநாவோழத் [திருக்கடி] த்தானத்து
- 2 பரிடையுங் கணத்தாரும் பொதுவாள்மாரு[ம்*] நன்றுமுநா[ட்*]டு முந் நூற்றுவுரும் பணி செய்கின்ற நெடும்புறத்து குன்றங் கொவிர்தனும் [கடவு] மன்றத் திரவியிராமனுங் கூடி கச்சமாவிது [11*] திரு க்கடித்தானத்து
- 3 திருக்கொயிலுடையாருங் கொட்டிகளுடைய விருத்தி ஒற்றி கொள்ளவும் அனை யுழவு உழவும் பெருர் [1*] ஊராளரும் இடையிடரும் பொது அனும் ஒற்றிகொள்[ளுமவன்] யுமவன் நாடுவாழுமவர்க்கு இ-
- 4 ருபத்து நாற்க்கைழைநம் வாழ்க்கை உடையவர்க்கு பந்திருகழைனு பொ- ன் னூந் தண்டப்படுவிது [1*] அவன்கு பாடுதாங்குமவனும் இத்தண்ட மெ படுவிது [1*] பணிமானிடம் ஒற்றி இடையிடு கூடி யிரு கூடி க்கு வாதிச-
- 5 சொர்க்கு உழவடுத்து கொள்ளக்கடவர் [1*] அது விலக்குமவர்களும் இ த்தண்டமெ படுவிது [1*] பணி மானிடத்தைப் புள்ளிகிழ மைகு வண்ணமெ கணத்தாருஞ் சாந்தி செய்யுமவரனும் கண்டுகொள்விது [1*] உவாச்சகள்
- 6 எழுதிது [11*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the twenty-fourth year opposite to the second year which was current (in the reign) of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi when Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍan of Vēṇāḍu was also administering Nannulai-nāḍu, the *parishad*, the *gana*

and the *poduvāl* of Tirukkāḍittānam, the 'three-hundred' of Nannūlai-nāḍu and the (temple) servants Kuṇṇaṅ-Gōvindaṅ of Neḍumpuṇam and Ravi-Rāmaṅ of having met, passed the following resolution:—

The trustees of the temple (*tirukkōyil-uḍaiyār*) at Tirukkāḍittānam shall not take on mortgage or for cultivation lands belonging to the drummers (*kottikāl*). The *ūrālar*, *iḍaiyīḍar* and *poduvāl* shall not (also) take them on mortgage.

Such of the *ūrālar* or *iḍaiyīḍar* as take (these holdings) on mortgage shall be liable to a fine of twenty-four *kaḷaṅṇu* of gold to the governor of the district, and twelve *kaḷaṅṇu* to the officer in immediate charge (of the village). He that supports him (the transgressor) shall be subject to the same fine.

..... shall take the cultivation. He who obstructs this shall be liable to the same penalty. The *gana* (members) and those who perform the *sānti* (worship) shall supervise the servants in the stipulated manner.

This was written by the drummers (*uvachchar*).

No. 58—Another record for Tirukkāḍittānam.

This inscription which is engraved on the south base of the same Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkāḍittānam registers the gift of certain fields which Dēvaṅ-Rāmaṅ of Muttūru made for providing certain offerings to the god (*bhaḷārār*) at Tirukkāḍittānam. The Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of the record approximate to the date of Bhāskara-Ravivarman.

Muttūru, the village from which the donor hailed is in the Tiruvalla taluk and has been referred to in the *Uṇṇunilisaṇḍēsam* in the following lines:

மதுரைச்சென்னிய புலையு பிணிவிடேயு மொ
மணியு தம விவொடு சுவை நாவுகோசிக் கெல்க. v. 125.

Text.¹

- 1 முத்தூற்று தெவனிராமன் திருக்கடித்தானத்து பழாரர்க்கு நாநாழி அரி திருவமி-
- 2 ற்து உச்சையகத்து பந்திரடிக்கு செல்வான் அமைச்ச பூமி [1*] கண்ணன் கரி தெகியவும் எடை-
- 3 யற்புரையிடமு மொழியர் வாழ்க்கையும் மன்னவெலியு மணலொடியுமினி ற்தில் [ப்]பாதி [11*]

Translation.

The lands which Dēvaṅ-Rāmaṅ of Muttūru set apart for providing sacred offerings of four *nāḷi* of rice at twelve-feet time before midday to the god (*bhaḷārār*) of Tirukkāḍittānam are the following:—the whole of Kaṇṇaṅkari, and half of the lands (called) Eḍaiyaṅ-puraiyidaṅ, Moḷiyar-vāḷkkai, Maṇṇa-veli, and Maṇalōḍi.

1 Registered as No. 49 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1099 M. R. (same as No. 92 of 1086.)

No. 59.—Tirukkadittanam Inscription.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north base of the central shrine in the Vishnu temple at Tirukkadittanam. It is in the Vatteluttu alphabet and the Tamil language, and registers the gift of the land called Nelvādil-kādu by Kaṇḍan-Kumaraṇ *alias* Māluvakkōṇ of Kīlumalai for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tirukkudittanam. The recipients of the gift were the members of the village assembly and the *poduvāl*, who, it is said, in company with 'the three-hundred' of Naṇṇulai-nādu and 'the six-hundred' of Kīlumalai, made it over to Iyakkāṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkūlam, stipulating that he shall enjoy the right of cultivation and give in return, on the day of Rōhinī in the month of Kumbha, either 12 *kalam* of paddy in kind (as measured) by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*, or 6 *kaḷaṅju* of pure gold.

Kīlumalai-nādu was the name of the tract of land in the north-eastern corner of the State lying at the foot of the Western Ghats, and represented by the modern taluks of Devikulam, Toḍupulā and a portion of Mūvāttupulā. The capital of this independent principality was Kārikkōḍu near Toḍupulā and it continued to retain its autonomy even as late as Kollam 754.¹ It may have been absorbed into the greater division of Vaḍakkumkūru in about the end of the 16th century A. D., as it has been record by the Portuguese chronicler Gouvea that the Rāṇi of Vaḍakkumkūru adopted the Rāja of Toḍupulā, on failure of issue. Kōḍikkūlam is also a village in the Karimannūr pagudi of the Toḍupulā taluk.

The inscription is dated on the day of Tiruvōṇam falling on a Monday in the month of Kumbha of the year in which Jupiter was in Rishabha. The same individual Māluvakkōṇ made a gift in favour of the Vishnu temple of Tiruvalla on the day of Viśākha corresponding to a Wednesday in the month of Makara, when Jupiter was in Tūlā, for sounding the five great sounds or the *pañchamahā-sabda*. In it also, Iyakkāṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkūlam figures. As such, the date of the subjoined inscription may be seven years after or five years before that of the gift recorded in the Tiruvalla copper-plates. To judge from the characters, the record seems to belong to the end of the 11th century A. D.

The expression 'சூடுமுறையும் வருவிது அறுகழஞ்ஞு பொன்' in line 6 may be compared with 'ஆட்டுவெட்டிச் சூடுக்கு தந்து காச்சாற்றி கைசெல்வது கழஞ்சிற் பேர்த்த துளைப்பொன் உரையும் துளையும் வழுவாதது' occurring in an inscription of Rājarāja I (No. 218 of 1911), where the genuineness of the gold currency was tested by the fineness of the gold and the punch-mark (*tulā*), which was presumably stamped on the discs by order of the issuing government. The word '*vaḷuvādaḍu*', which prescribed that the fineness of gold should not be found to be wanting, is

1 Vide, *Bharahapūrāṇi* for 1096, p. 15.

அறுகழஞ்ஞு பொன்
சூடுமுறையும் வருவிது
அறுகழஞ்ஞு பொன்
சூடுமுறையும் வருவிது
அறுகழஞ்ஞு பொன்
சூடுமுறையும் வருவிது
அறுகழஞ்ஞு பொன்
சூடுமுறையும் வருவிது
அறுகழஞ்ஞு பொன்
சூடுமுறையும் வருவிது
அறுகழஞ்ஞு பொன்
சூடுமுறையும் வருவிது

here expressed by the positive word *varuvadu*, 'which possessed the necessary fineness and carat'.

Text.¹

- 1 ஷ்ஷீ ஸ்ரீ [||*] இடபத்துள் வியாழந் நிற்க கும்ப ஞாயிற்று திங்களாண்ட திருவொணத்தின் னுள் திருக்கடித்தானத்துப் பட்டார[ர்*]க்கு கிழ மலையுடைய² கண்டங் குமரனாய மாளுவக்கொன் நந்தாவிளக் கமைச்சான் [||*] இந் நந்தாவிளக்கி-
- 2 னு தன்னுடைய நெல்வாதில்காடாகின்ற செரிக்கல் [க]ரையும் வயலுங் காட்³ னுள்ளொடுங்க இதிலுபடும தெல்லாங் கூட அட்டிக்கொடுத்தான் கிழமலையுடைய கண்டங் குமரனாய மாளுவக்கொன் [||*] நெல்வாதிலாகின்ற செரிக்கல் திருக்கடித்தானத்-
- 3 தூரும் பொதுவாள்மாருங் கிழமலை அறு⁴ தூற்றுவுரையு நன்றுழைநாட்டு முந் தூற்றுவுரையும் பணியுடைய[ர்]சனையு முள்வைச்சு கொடிக்களமுடைய இயக்கங் கொவிந்நனுக்கு காரான்மை அட்டிக் கொடுத்தார் உரும் பொதுவாள்மாரும் [||*] இத்திருவிளக்கு இச்செரிக்கல் லாரு⁵ம்
- 4 [கிழமலை] அறுதூற்றுவுரு நன்றுழைநாட்டு முந் தூற்றுவுரு பணியுடைய[ர்]களு⁶ம்* பொதுவாள்மாரு⁶ம்* இதிலுக்கு வருங் குறைவு குற்ற முண்டாகில் விட்டிச்செல்லுத்திக்கக் கடவியர் [||*] இவ்விளக்கு கிழருவி ஈடையொடு [கூ]-
- 5 டச் செலுத்தக் கடவியர் [||*] விளக்கு முட்டிக்குமவர் கச்சத்தில்பட்ட தண்டமெய் படக்கவியர் [||*] கொடிக்களத்து இயக்கங் கொவிந்ந-
[ன்*] ஓராண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டாரட்டி செலுத்தக் கடவியன் [||*] விளக்கினு கும்ப ஞா-
- 6 மிற்று உரெயணி நாள் பொதுவாள்மார் கையில் நெல்க் கொடுக்கி விடங்-
வழியால்ப் பந்நிரு கலங் கொடுப்பிது [||*] பொன் கொடுக்கில் குடு-
முறையும் வருவிது⁵ அறு கழைஞ்ஞ நினைப் பொன் கொடுப்பிது[||]
இயக்கங் கொவிந்நன்
- 7 உடையாரடியான் கண்டனி⁶[வி]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity !

On the day of Tiruvōṇam, which fell on a Monday in the month of Kum-bha of the year in which Jupiter stood in Rishabha, Kaṇḍaṇ-Kumaraṇ alias Mā-luvakkōṇ of Kīlunalai, supplied a perpetual lamp to (the temple of) the god at Tirukkāḍittāṇam. For this perpetual lamp, Kaṇḍaṇ-Kumaraṇ alias Mā-luvakkōṇ

1 Registered as No. 88 of 1086 and No. 17 of the Trav. Epig. Colln.

2 y is entered below the line.

3 Perhaps காடு முள்ளொடுங்க.

4 The syllables தூற்று are entered below the line, a mark being made after அறு.

5 The word occurs elsewhere as வருவாதது; although வருவிது may also be taken as meaning, 'that possesses the necessary fineness', and occurs as such in Z. 384 of the Tiruvalla plates (T. A. S., Vol. II, p. 191).

6 The records stops here.

of Kīlumalai gave with libation (of water) his land known as Nelvādil-kādu, inclusive of gardens, wet, and forest lands along with all the appurtenances.

The *ūrār* and *poduvālmār*¹ of Tirukkadittāṇam, in the presence of 'the six-hundred' of Kīlumalai, the 'three-hundred' of Nannulāi-nādu and the servants, gave the land called Nelvādil as a *kārāṇmai* to Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkalam.

The *ūrār* of this Śerikkal, 'the six-hundred' of Kīlumalai, 'the three-hundred' of Nannulāi-nādu, the servants and the *poduvālmār* shall, in case of any deficiency or default arising, make that good and see to the maintenance of the lamp. They shall have this lamp maintained along with the expenses of the temple.

Those who cause any impediment to (the burning of) this lamp, shall be liable to the fine fixed in this agreement. If Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkalam causes default in any one year, he shall have to pay double the quantity at default.

In making payment on the day of Rōhiṇi in the month Kumbha into the hands of the *poduvāl*, if it is in paddy, twelve *kalam* as measured by the *iḍaṅgāl* shall be given, and if gold is paid, six *kaḷaṅju* in weight of gold having the proper carat and fineness shall be given. Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ, Uḍaiyāraḍiyāṇ Kaṇḍaṇ-Ravi . . .

No. 60.—Two sculptured panels at Tirukkadittanam.²

Nāṭya-sāstra, or the art of dancing and acting was developed in great elaboration by Bharataṃuni in his *Bharataśāstra* of about the 3rd or the 4th century A. D.; but as it was itself probably based on the earlier Nāṭasūtras of Silālin and Kṛiśāsva,³ which have been referred to by and must therefore have lived before the great grammarian Pāṇini, the age of the Dancing Art of Aryan India, as a science, mounts up to very high antiquity. The Tamilian branch of this art, although it followed its Aryan sister in certain particulars and copied several of the technical terms relating to that science in later times, must have had, however, an antiquity equally great and also maintained a distinct individuality in this, as in many other branches of culture; for, we find here several varieties of dances peculiar to her own independent civilisation, which are absent in the Sanskrit treatises. In the *Araṅgērrukāḍai* and the *Kaḍalāḍukāḍai*, the third and sixth chapters of the *Puḡār-kāṇḍam*, the first book of *Śilappadigāram*⁴, reference is made to several of the varieties of dances in vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the learned commentator Adiyārkkunallār (c. 1200 A. D.) has taken this opportunity to insert, with copious quotations from some rare Tamil works, such as *Agattiyaṃ*, *Seṇṇirriyaṃ*, *Jayantam*, *Gūṇanūl*, *Nāṭaka-tamiḷ-nūl* of Mativāṇa etc., a fairly detailed account on the characteristics, significance, utility etc. of the the various kinds of Dances, whether purely pantomimic or accompanied by

1 The phrase 'உருகி பொதுவாற்றாமை' is repeated in the text.

2 This paper appeared in the *Mythic Society's Journal* for April 1924.

3 Q. J. M. S., Vol. XII, page 157.

4 *Śilappadigāram*, page 80.

music, both vocal and instrumental, the principal representatives of the latter being the *yāḷ* and the *kuḷal*.

Kūttus or Dances were primarily divided into several pairs of sub-divisions consistent with their character; and one such classification was the *Sāntikkūttu* and the *Vinōdakkūttu*. The former is the collective name of four kinds¹ of Dances which were indulged in by the hero or the dancer in a mood of reposeful enjoyment and as a means of aesthetic recreation; while the *Vinōdakkūttu*² which had to appeal to the masses was mostly of a spectacular than an intellectual kind and was subdivided into the six varieties: *Kuravai*, *Kilinaṭam*, *Kuḍakkūttu*, *Karaṇam*, *Nōkku* and *Tōrpāvai* with the optional inclusion of the *Vidūdakkūttu* or sometimes of the *Veriyāttu* as the seventh. Of these, *Kuḍakkūttu* was also one of the eleven varieties (according to another grouping) danced by the *dēvas* in their fight with their born enemies the *asuras*, which are numerated in the following stanza:—

‘கடையமழி ராணிமரக் கால்விந்தை கந்தன்
குடைதுடி மா லல்லியமல் கும்பஞ் சுடர்விழியாற்
பட்டமதன் பேடுதிருப் பாவையான் பாண்டரங்கங்
கொட்டியிவை காண்பதினோர் கூத்து’.

These again were classified into two groups of six and five each according to the posture of dancing, either standing or otherwise:—

‘அல்லியங் கொட்டி குடைகுடம் பாண்டரங்கங்
மல்லுட னின்றூட லாறு’

and ‘துடிசுடையம்பேடு மரக்காலே பாவை
வடிவுடன் வீழ்ந்தாட லைந்து’.

Of these, we shall take up for consideration only the two varieties *Kuḍai* and *Kuḍam*, which are described in the following lines of the *Kaḍalāḍukūḍai* as having been played on two special occasions:

‘படைவீழ்த் தவுணர் பையு ளெய்தக்
குடை வீழ்த் தவர்மு னுடிய குடையும்,
வாணன் பேரூர் மறுகிடை நடந்து
நீணில மளந்தோ னுடிய குடமும்’ (ll. 52-45).

In his commentary on these lines, Adiyārkkunallār says that god Subrahmanya³ after having slain the demon Śūrapadmāsura, who had concealed himself in the ocean, danced his war-dance of triumph on the heaving wave-platform of the oceanic stage to the accompaniment of the rattle of his drum (*tudī*), and that at a later stage, when all the other remaining Rākshasas threw down their weapons in despair

1 namely, *Solkam*, *Meḷkūttu*, *Avinayam* and *Nāṭakam*.

2 எழுவகைக் கூத்து மிழிகுலத் தோரை, யாட வகுத்தணகத்தியன் குணே

—page 81.

3 *Siḷappaligāram*, page 89.

4 மாக்கட னடுவ-

னீர்த்திரை யரங்கத்து நிகர்த்து முன்னின்ற

சூர்த்திரங் கடந்தோ னுடிய துடியும்—

Compare also சேடனுக்கசண்டாளரக்கர்குல

மானவிட்டுகுண் டேழலைக்கடல்சன்

சேதவற்றனின் ருடிவிற்கரமீ ரறுதோண் மேற்

ll. 49 to 51 of *Kaḍalāḍukūḍai*.

and fled the field before the war-lord's impetuous onslaught, Subrahmanya screened his face with a parasol and played in exultant derision the *Kuḍaikkūttu* or the Umbrella-dance. These are the two¹ varieties of dances mentioned as peculiar to this god, and it is noticeable that both of them are of Tamiian origin and do not find corresponding equivalents in the sub-divisions described in the Sanskrit *Nāṭya-śāstras*. Muruga (the Tamil synonym of Kumāra) is more popular in Tamiian South India than in the Aryan north, where his worship is not so much favoured;² and we find him given an equal status with Viṣṇu and Śiva in early Tamil literature. He was the tutelary³ deity of the *kurinjinila-mākkal* or hill-men in whose routine of worship *tuḍi* (drum)⁴ was the chief musical accompaniment and *Veriyāṭṭu*, a kind of wild spirit-possessed dance, formed an important feature. *Tirumurugārruppaḍai* the first poem in the *Paṭṭuppāṭṭu* is in praise of this god Murugaṇ and is considered so sacred as to be utilised by the devout 'Murugites' for their daily recitation (*pārāyanam*), while as many as eight pieces out of the twenty-four in the available *Paripāḍal* are exclusively dedicated to the glorification of Śevvāl (Subrahmanya). These *Kuḍaikkūttus* are now sometimes performed during temple processions when the god's umbrella-bearer cuts some capers with his unwieldy parasol; but the *Kāvāḍikkūttu* is a greater favourite in these days in Murugaṇ's worship and festivities.

The second variety called the *Kuḍakkūttu* is another dance peculiar to the Tamil genius, and we do not find its counter-part in the premier Sanskrit treatises on the art of Dancing. Its origin has to be traced to the purely pastoral pursuits of its votaries, the shepherds, who eventually came to consider it as one of the three favourite dances of god Viṣṇu in his special manifestation as Gōpāla, the Divine Shepherd⁵. In the *Saṅgam* works, but more frequently in the impassioned utterances⁶ of the Vaishṇava-ālvārs, reference is made to the partiality of Kṛiṣṇa to this kind of dance. One such instance is in a verse⁷ of Periyālvār's *Tirumolī*, where its learned commentator has attempted to trace the origin of this kind of pastoral dance as follows:—

- 1 குடையொடு துடியிரண்டும் குமரனதாடலாமே
அறுமுகத்தோடு குடல் குடை and துடியாடல் வேன்முருகுடல் — *Chudāmaṇi*.
- 2 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, page 415.
- 3 னேயோன் மேயகாடுரை யுலகமும் — *Tolkāppiyam* (Aha. s. 5)
- 4 தொண்டகமுருகியம் போர்த்துடி குறுஞ்சிப்பறைபேர் — *Chudāmaṇi*.
- 5 மாயோன் மேயகாடுறை யுலகமும் — *Tolkāppiyam*.
- குன்றெடுத்த ஆநிறை காத்த பிரான், கோவலனாய்க் குழலாதிபதி,
கன்றுகள் மேய்த்துத் தன் தோழரோடு, கலந்துடன் வருவானே — *Periyālvār Tirumolī*.
இடவலகுடவலகோவல காவல — *Paripāḍal* 3-ம் பத்தி, l. 43.
குடத்தாடல் குன்றெடுத்தோடால் — *Silap.*, page 89.
எ-ம் திருமொழி.
- 6 குடல் கலந்தாடிக் குரவைமுன்கோத்த கூந்த் — *நாச்சியார் திருமொழி*.
குடமாடு கூத்தன் கோவிந்தன்
குடமாடிக் கோவலனாய் மேவி என்னெஞ்சும் — *இயற்பா*, 2-ம் திருவி, பத். 98.
இடமாகக் கொண்டஇறை
குடமாடி இம்மண்ணும் விண்ணும் குறுங்கு உலகனந்து — *இயற்பா*, திருவி, பா 38.
நடமாடிய பெருமான் — *திருவெங்கடமாலை*, 48.
குடமாடல் வாய்ந்த பரதத் துவத்தான் — *உ-ம்பத்தி*, எ-ம் திருமொழி.
- 7 குடங்களெடுத்த தேறவிட்டுக் கூத்தாடவல்ல ஈங்கோவே

"As brahmans perform sacrifices in days of plenty, so too do shepherds in prosperous times give vent to their exuberance of joy in improvising the *Kuḍakkūttu* or the Pot-Dance"—a recreation that would naturally have suggested itself to a class of men whose wealth was wooed, so to say, out of the cornucopia of their milk and butter-pots. "The dancer balances a tier of pots on his head and a few more on his shoulders and throwing up some in the air, catches them as they fall in succession" (thus keeping up a continuous line of pots going round in the same manner as the game of *ammānai* is being played by little girls). "The pots are either common earthen ones or are made of an amalgam of five metals (*pañchalōham*)". Lord Kṛishṇa as the prince of all shepherds (*āyarkōn*), was therefore the hero-elect of these pastoral performances, more particularly of the '*Kuravaikkūttu*, (Skt. *Rāsakrīḍā*), the idyllic dance played in the moonlit lawns of Brindavana to the entrancing accompaniment of his own divine flute, the musical instrument typical of *mullai-nilam*. The *Kuḍakkūttu* is popular even today in the form *Karakamāṭṭam* connected with the worship of Kālī, in the *Uṇṇiyaḍi* festival commemorating the sports of the infant Kṛishṇa and in the street acrobats' performances.

But the authors of the *Śilappadigāram* and its commentary mention also a different occasion on which this Pot-Dance was played, viz, that of the defeat of Bāṇāsura in his own capital of Śōṇitapura (Śōṇagaram). Aniruddha, the son and grandson respectively of Pradyumna and Kṛishṇa, made love on the sly to Ushā the beautiful daughter of Bāṇa, and was forthwith imprisoned by the irate father in his invincible fire-girt castle. But Kṛishṇa², despite the spirited opposition of Śiva, Subrahmanya, Gaṇeśa and all the goblin hordes, entered the city, defeated Bāṇa and would have slain him outright, but for the timely pleading of Śiva and the asura-king's agreement to publicly celebrate the marriage of his daughter with her secretive lover. This was the occasion when Kṛishṇa signalled his triumph by a frolicsome spell of his favourite Pot-Dance. Two other varieties³ attributed to him are the *alliyam* and the *mallu* which he indulged in on the occasions respectively of killing the elephant-emissary of Kāṁsa and Kāṁsa himself. Kṛishṇa had in his eventful life in the Āyarcheri several other opportunities for dancing; he danced his petulant and jubilant dances when butter and curds⁴ were denied or given him and danced again on the five-headed serpent Kālīya, who was fouling the Yamunā's waters.⁵

It is interesting to note in this connection that the *Bālarāmahārata* work on the Dancing Art composed by the royal author Bālarāma-varma-Kulaśekhara (1758-98) the Mahārāja of Travancore mentions Shanmukha (Subrahmanya) and Kṛishṇa among the *bharata-pradhāna-puruṣas*, or important divinities intimately connected with the Dance.

1. தொடுத்தகை கோத்தாடற்பேர் சொல்லிய குரவையென்ப

— *Chudāmaṇi*.

This dance has been described in the Āyarcheri-Kuravai in *Śilappadigāram*.

2. Compare the following description

மோடியோடவங்கிவெப்பு மங்கியோடவைங்கரன்

முடுகியோட முருகசோட முக்கனீசன் மக்களைத்

தேடியோடவாணஞயிரம் புயங்கள் குறுதிரர்

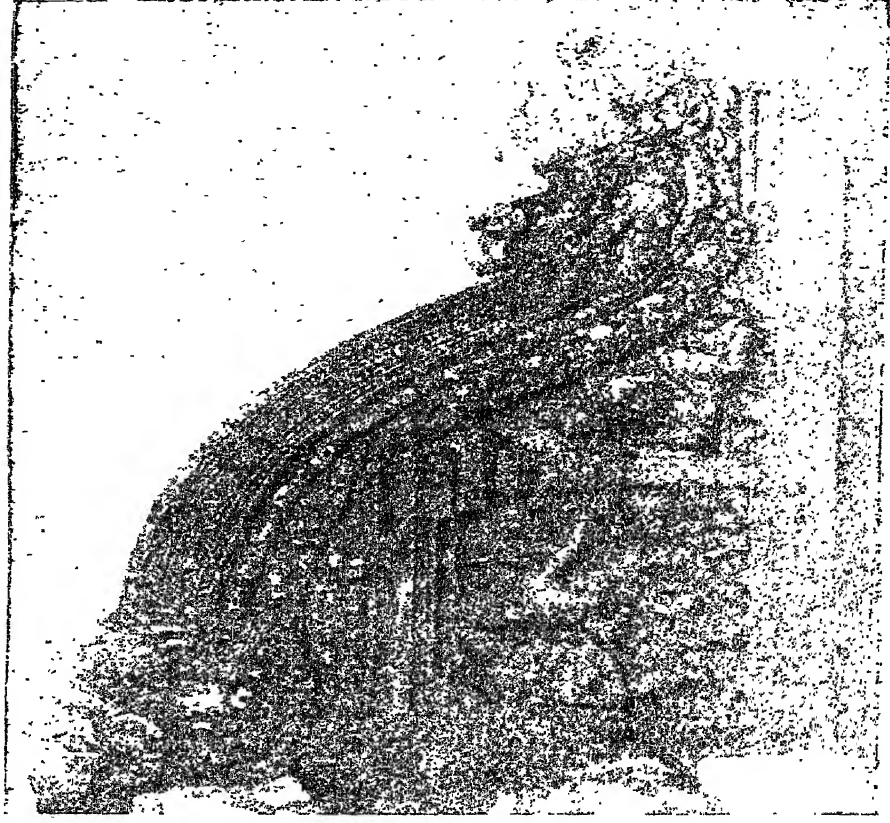
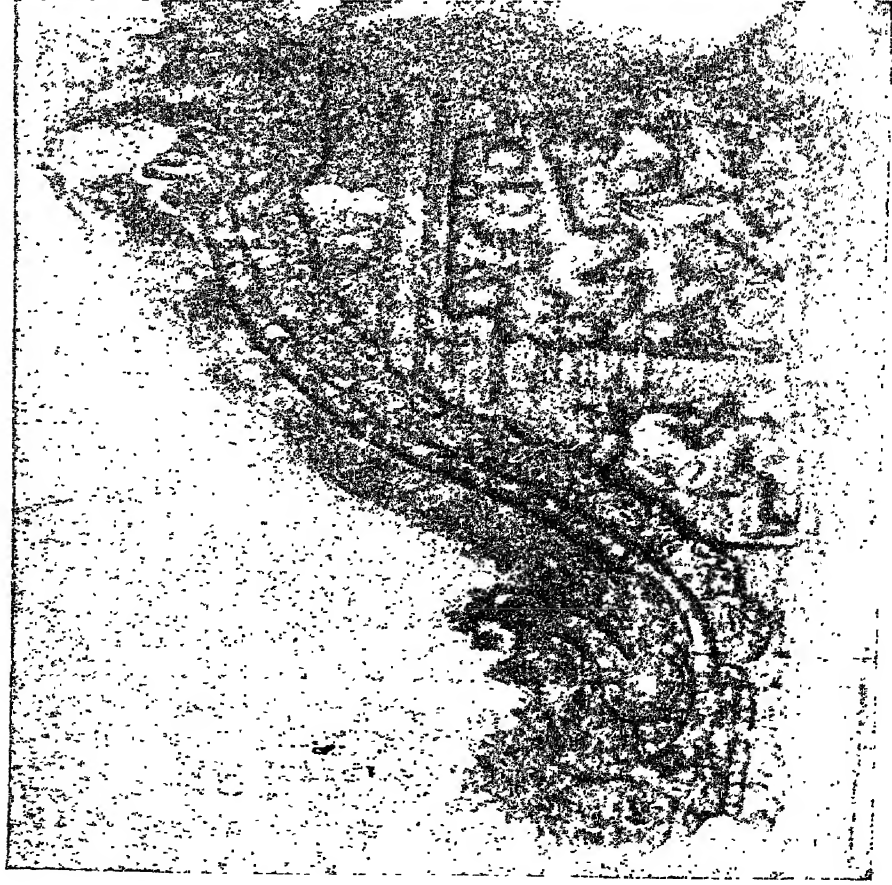
சுந்தியோட நேமிதொட்ட திருவரங்கராசரே

— திருவரங்கக்கலம்பகம், 39.

3. குடமல் லேயல்லியந்தான் கொண்டல்வண்ணன் தன் கூத்து

— *Chudāmaṇi*.

TWO SCULPTURED PANELS AT TIRUKKADITTANAM.



The reason why the two varieties called the *Kuḍaikkūttu* and the *Kuḍakkūttu* have been detailed above is because the sculptured figures on the two *vāli*-panels flanking the entrance into the *sanctum* of the Aḍbhuta-Nārāyaṇa temple at Tirukkadittanam (Chengamachery taluk) may be taken to represent these two types of dances. The sculptures seem to belong to the beginning of the 11th century, and may therefore be contemporaneous with the few records of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman (c. A. D. 1000) found engraved on the base of the circular *adhithāna* of the *garbhagriha* of the temple. The *Kuḍaikkūttu* panel is a good piece of workmanship and represents the dancer as exhibiting his skill on the dais of a covered *maṇḍapa*, (the *Rāṅgamaṇḍapa* or the *Kūttambalam* of temples?), while an attendant standing to his left holds an umbrella aloft, its duplicate being held perhaps by the dancer himself, although this detail is not quite clear in the sculpture. Two other attendants provide the musical accompaniment consisting of the inevitable *mṛḍalaṅgam* and a pair of cymbals. A flock of five *hamsas*, looking more like ducklings than royal swans, is seen sunning itself on the roof of the *maṇḍapa* and adds to the picturesqueness of the composition.

The other panel's representation of *Kuḍakkūttu* is also from the chisel of the same sculptor, as is evident from the general style of its work and the recurrence of the same details as in the other piece. The posture of the dancer is, if anything, more vivacious and the attendants are figured with a more expressive touch of realism: witness the agile bend of the drummer's body and the watchful pose of his head. The dancer's head is dressed up in the *kaṇḍa-makuṭa* or the *dham-milla* style popular in representations of Krishna and the absence of the tier of pots has to be accounted for by limitations of space. Two pots each are enjoying doubtful equilibrium on the extended left and bent right arms of the dancer, while three or four pots are seen dangling in space thrown up in the quick volutions of his rhythmic movements to be caught up as they fall and thrown up again in succession.

Such are the two dances delineated in the accompanying illustration and their importance, if any, lies in the fact that they represent varieties of the ancient Tamil dances, some of which at least were the independent product of the distinctive culture of the early Tamils and are still enjoying a fugitive existence, though in somewhat altered forms, in Kerala, the unrifled 'Old Curiosity Shop' of early customs and institutions.

No. 61—Record of Bhāskara-Ravivarman: 2 + . . year.

The subjoined record of Bhāskara-Ravivarman is found engraved on the upper face of the narrow *upāna* (lowermost stone-member) of the base of the central shrine of the Aḍbhuta-Nārāyaṇa temple at Tirukkadittanam, which contains many

4 Compare the title of வெண்ணெய்க்குத்தன்.

5 பையரவின் குட்டும் செம்பு, ந நாட்டினான் சேர்வு

கானகமாடுகிற் காணியன்களிலே நாயநடம்பவிலும் சுந்தர—

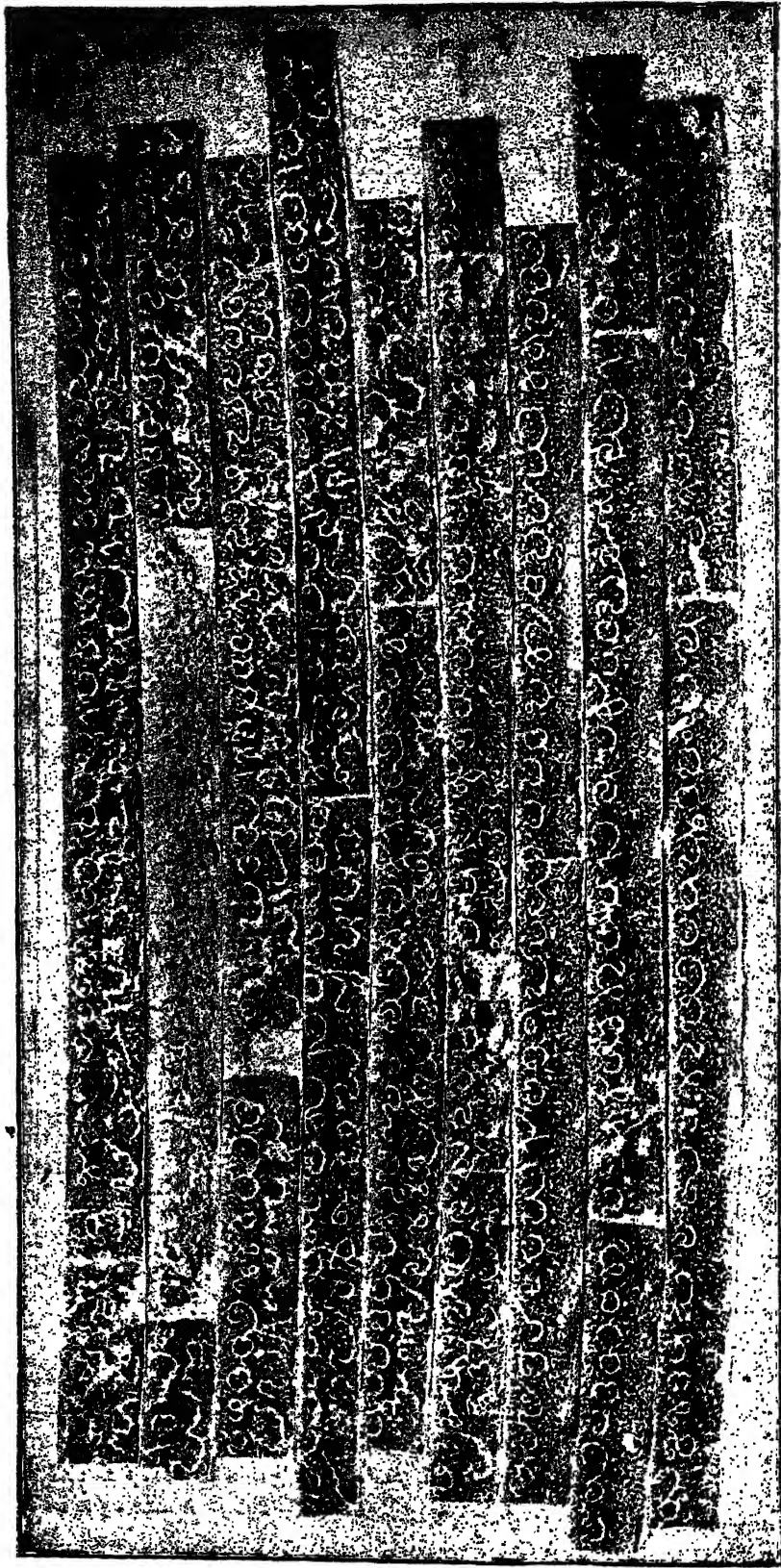
6 It is perhaps a happy coincidence that the temple contains a sculptural representation of the *Kuḍakkūttu*, while Nannālvār has described the god of this place as:

வைகுந்தம், சேரகிலை காண்ட குடக்கத்த அம்மானே

verse 5.

—Tiruvēṅkaṭamalai.

No. 61—TIRUKKADITTANAM, RECORD OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN: 2ND + . 2 YEAR.



A. S. Ramasatha Ayyar.

Scale: One-sevenths.

the period of Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍa's reign as a Venādu viceroy may approximately be fixed to be from A. D. 992 to at least 1016.

The importance of this epigraph for purposes of fixing Chēra chronology cannot be overestimated, and the interesting triple synchronism that it establishes, namely, of the contemporaneity of Bhāskara-Ravi, Srivallabhaṇ-Kōḍai and Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman is of very great value. It silences once for all the attempts that have recently been made to antedate Bhāskara-Ravi back to the 6th century A. D.¹ As regards the possibility of there being two kings of the same name of Bhāskara-Ravi, which is indicated by the variations in the positions of Jupiter in the several records, that question requires special examination.

Text.²

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [1*] கொச்சிர் பாற்க்கரணிரவிவர்மர்க்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யா-
ண்டிரண்டின்³ மாரத்தாண்டர் நன்முநராடு
வாழத் திருக்கடித்தானத்து உத்திராகணத்தாரும் நிழலும் பணியுங்
கடி வெணாடுடைய சிரிவல்லவங்கொதைவர்மர் அமைச்ச உத்திரவி-
ழா ஆட்டாண்டுங் குமைப்ஞாயிறு காரத்தியை கொடி நாட்டி நிய-
க் முநராழி நாழியால் ஆற்றாநாழி அரிகொண்டு அட்டி யூணங் கறி-
யுந் செய்யு மொண்டாயும் பராமணரை ஊட்டிப் பத்து கூத்துமாடிச்சு
பணிமாளிடத்தின்கு பண்டு கொடுக்கும் அரிசியும் கொடுத்து நாலாயி-
ரனாழியில் வெற்றிலை கொண்டு தியதிக்கு மட்டு பூதபலியுந் தூகி
உத்திராகதின⁴

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

When the . . . opposite the second year of king Sri Bhāskara-Ravivarmar was current and when [Gōvarddhana]-Mārttāṇḍavarman was administering Nan-
rulai-nādu, the *uttiraganattār* (the council of men supervising the *uttira*-festival) of Tirukkadittanam, the Government officers (*nilal*) and servants (*pani*) having assembled, (arranged as follows):

For the *Uttiravila* (Parguni-Uttirama festival) which Srivallabhaṇ-Kōḍai-
varmar the ruler of Venādu (*Venāduḍaiya*) had instituted (in the temple), the flag
shall be hoisted every year on (the day of) Kārttigai in the month of Kumbha,
brahmans shall be fed daily with food cooked of 100 measures of rice by the mea-
sure holding three *nāli*, together with vegetables and ghee, ten *uttu* (dramatic) per-
formances shall be played, and the servants shall be given the usual doles of rice;
and out of this four thousand *nāli* of rice, betel shall be supplied daily, and the
bali offerings shall also be strewn; and on the day of Uttirama

1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 220-3.

2 Registered as No. 10 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1100. N. R.

3 The missing syllables must be சென்ற மாண்டு கொவர்ந்தன

4 The writing stops here and may have been continued on the lower base, which is now covered up by the flooring of the prakāra.

No. 62—Record of Bhaskararavivarman: 1 + 1 year.

The subjoined record belongs to the year opposite the first year of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, when Jupiter was in Tula, and records the gift of a piece of land which Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Muḷakkāḍu made to god Bhaḷāra at Tirukkaḍittāṇam for the expenses of feeding twelve brahmans in the temple and for 12 *nāḷi* of offerings on new-moon days. The donation was made on the auspicious day of (Chitrai)-vishu.

It is note worthy that the year of opposition is mentioned as the first and not the second year, as is usual in Bhāskara-Ravivarman's records. This inscription was published incompletely on p. 45 of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Volume II; and although the present transcript is not complete, the words that have been omitted previously have now been added, so far as the damaged state of the epigraph would admit.

The amount of paddy and the extent of land are not reconcilable.

Text.¹

வடிவத் தீர்த்தி [1*] கொப்பாற்சுர இரவிவரம்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்-
ற 2மாண்டைக்கெதிராமாண்டு நால்ப்பத்தெட்டும்சென்ற தூலாத்தில்
வியாழந் நின்ற [சித்தி]ரை விழுவி நாள் திருக்கடித்தானத்து பழா-
ரர்க்கு முளக்காட்டு இயக்கங் கொவிநந் அமைச்ச செல்வாவிது [1*]
ஒரு [ந]ந்தாவிளக்கும் பந்திருவர் அமாவாதிநாள்பந்தி-
ருநாழி திரு அமிர்தம் இச்செலவின்
யில் . [விழா]காப்பவரளிடை நாலாயிரத்தெண்ணூறு பறை நெல்லி-
னு [தா]ன் [அ]ட்டின [நா]நூற்றுக்கலம் நிலமும் தறையும் பா-
ழாரர்க்கு அட்டி கொடுத்தான் இயக்கங் கொவிநந் இச்செலவு . . .
. மூன்று செலுத்த³

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity !

The expenses which Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Muḷakkāḍu provided for the god Bhaḷāra of Tirukkaḍittāṇam on the day of Chitrai-vishu, when forty-eight days had passed in the year opposite the . . year of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman's reign when Jupiter stood in Tula, are the following:—

For one perpetual lamp and feeding twelve men and for twelve *nāḷi* of rice on new-moon days, Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ gave with libation (of water) to for four thousand and eight hundred *paraḷi* of paddy, land of four hundred *kalam* and some sites on behalf of the god.

This expense hundred shall provide.

1 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1100 M. R.

2 It is possible that the syllables இரண்டா may have been omitted here.

3 The record stops here abruptly.

TRAVANCORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERIES

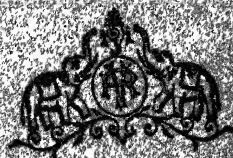
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BY

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Nayaka records in Travancore territory.

The decline of the power of the Pāṇḍya dynasty in the Madura District may have to be traced from the time of the Muhammadan adventurer Malik Kafir, who overran South India in a magnificent raid in about A. D. 1311-2; and a Sultanate, which was founded in Madura soon after in about A. D. 1335, held that ancient capital in its possession for nearly 42 years till A. D. 1377, when the Vijayanagara prince Kumāra-Kampana once for all effectively ended Muhammadan domination in the southern most India. The Pāṇḍyas migrating farther south contented themselves with the administration of the adjoining Tinnevely District; and their possessions included also some portions situated in the eastern and southern borders of modern Travancore; but these effete Pāṇḍyas were soon dominated by the Vijayanagara kings and the whole of the southern districts were constituted into a viceroyalty of that empire, with headquarters at Madura.

The Nāyaka rulers of Madura were the generals who were posted by the Vijayanagara kings for the administration of this distant governorship, and they continued fairly loyal to the imperial house during the two centuries of their own rule; and though the Vijayanagara dynasty tottered to its fall in the second half of the 17th century with the death of Śrīraṅga III, they continued to call themselves still its loyal feudatories. The Nāyaka dynasty ruled over the Madura territory for over two hundred years from about A. D. 1530 to A. D. 1738. The subjoined list² of the Nāyaka rulers and the periods of their reigns will be useful for reference.

<i>Nāyaka rulers of Madura.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>
Nāgama-Nāyaka (Kāśyapa-gōtra)	...
1. Viśvanātha-Nāyaka	1529-64.
2. Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka	1564-72.
3. Virappa-Nāyaka	1572-95.
4. Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka II	1595-1601.
Kastūri-kaṅga	(a week)
5. Muttu-Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka	1601-09.
6. Muttu-Virappa-Nāyaka I	1609-1623.
7. Tirumalai-Nāyaka	1623-59.
8. Muttu-Virappa-Nāyaka II	1659 (4 months).
9. Chokkanātha-Nāyaka	1659-78.
10. Muttu-Liṅga-Nāyaka	1678.
[Rustum-Khan] ³	(Two years).
11. Chokkanātha Nāyaka	1678-82.
12. Muttu-Virappa-Nāyaka III	1682-89.
13. Maṅgammā	1689-1706.
14. Vijayaṅga-Chokkanātha-Nāyaka	1706-32.
15. Mīnakshī ⁴	1732-38.

1 Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has suggested from numismatic evidence that there was a break of 12 years from A. D. 1345-57 and that Kampana's initial success against the Muhammadan Sultans of Madura may be attributed to this period. *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 182.

2 Based on the *History of Madura Nayaks*, (R. Satyanatha Ayyar, 1924).

3 A short usurpation of power for two years.

4 A copper-plate of this Queen is dated in Feb. 1739.

Four Records of Muttu-Virappa-Nayaka.

The four records which are published below, belong to the time of king Muttu-Virappa-Nāyaka I. of the Madura Nāyaka dynasty, No. 6 in the above list. They are found engraved in a slovenly manner on the wall of the temple of Tirumūlasthānam-Uḍaiyār at Vindaṇūr *alias* Sāmbūrvaḍagarai in the Shencottah taluk. Three of them are dated in Śaka 1526 and 1527 and Kollam 782 corresponding to A. D. 1604, 1605 and 1607 respectively, and mention Śrīmat Muttu-Virappa-Nāyaka. As this Nāyaka ruler is known to have reigned from A. D. 1609 to 1623,¹ these records appear to have been incised before he actually ascended the Madura throne in his own right. During the period from A. D. 1604 to 1607, his father Muttu-Kṛishnappa-Nāyaka (1601-09)¹ was the ruling king; and it appears likely that Muttu-Virappa, while yet the crown-prince, had under his control as governor, the tract of land bordering on the Tinnevely District and the present Travancore State.

The first of these inscriptions which is dated in Śaka 1526 (= A. D. 1604) mentions that some lands were gifted away as *sarvamānya* to the temple treasury-accountants in cancellation of an older arrangement, which had apparently involved some disability. Owing to some illegible gaps in the first record, its full purport is not possible to be made out.

The second inscription, also of the same date, appears to register the gift of some land made at the instance of a private individual named Nārāyaṇa-Mudali, for the expenses of conducting the bathing ceremony of the god Mūlasthānam-Uḍaiyār at Vindaṇūr. The donor had evidently obtained this land from Śrīmat Muttu-Virappa-Nāyaka, who further appears to have exempted the tenants of this land from the payment of certain taxes.

The third epigraph of the same Nāyaka ruler, Muttu-Virappa, is engraved on the four faces of a pillar set up in the Bhairava naḍai in the temple at Cape Comorin. It registers that he made a gift of some lands in Kākkaraikkūḷam in Pullālaṅguriḥchi-paṇṇu which could yield annually 56½ *kōṭṭai* of paddy and 30 *paṇam* required for providing one *kuṟuṇi* of sacred offerings to goddess Kanyā-Bhagavatī at the time of the morning worship. The accountant who looked after the conduct of this service in the temple was authorised to receive this cooked food for himself. This record is dated in Kollam 782, and the other astronomical details furnished therein are correct for Friday, the 1st of May, 1607 A. D. It is worthy of note that this Muttu-Virappa-Nāyaka has been mentioned in this inscription as having had the other name of Viśvanātha-Nāyaka also (ll. 64 to 69). This gift of land made in A. D. 1607 was also in his capacity of Tinnevely Governor and not as a Nāyaka ruler of Madura, as stated above. Pullālaṅguriḥchi is a village in the Tinnevely District.

No. 63—On the east wall of the mandapa, Amman shrine: Saka 1526.

Text.²

1 ஸர்வமான்யா [1*] சகரத்தம் கதருளடெசு ன் மெல் செல்-

1 See list on previous page.

2 Registered as No. 35 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1086 M. E.

- 2 லாநின்ற சொபகிது¹ ஹ்ரு சித்திரை மாதம் ரெவ ஸ்ரீமது
- 3 முத்துவீரப்ப நாயக்கர் வடகரை விந்தன்னர் திருமூல-
- 4 த்தானம்முடை[யார்] கொவில் சிபண்டாரக் காரியம்ச் செய்வார்களு-
- 5 க்கு மெ-
- 6 ல்லா நன்மையும் பெருக அறியவர கணக்கு காரியம் [1*] திரு[மூலநா-
- 7 தர்] கெ-
- 8 ரவிவி[ன்*] முன்னுள் நடந்து [பொனபடி] வெண்டாமென்று [அ]த்தம்
- 9 துடைத்துக் களித்து கட்டளை இட்டு மணியம் கணக்கும் வெண்ட-
- 10 ரம் மென்று ஸ்வ-மாநதி இட்டொம் [1*] இந்தபடி-
- 11 இன்னுள் முதல் சூரநாக்க-ம் மடி
- 12 [ஹக்கு]ச் சுவ-மாநியம் ஆக நடத்திகொள்ளுவார்களாகவும் [11*]

Abstract of Contents.

On the 17th day of the month of Chittirai in the (cyclic) year Śōbhakṛit which was current after Śaka 1526, Srīmat Muttu-Vīrappa-Nāyaka set aside the old usage in the temple of Tirumūlattānam-Uḍaiyār at Viṇḍanūr on the northern bank (Vaḍagarai), abolished the posts of *maṇṇiyam* and *kaṇakku*, and ordered that certain gifts were to be considered as *sarvamānya*.

No. 64--On the east wall of the mandapa, Amman shrine: Śaka 1526.

Text.²

- 1 ஸ்வ-மாநதி [1*] ஸகாத்தி திரு[உரு] மெல் செல்-
- 2 லா நின்ற சொபகிது³ ஹ்ரு ஆனி மாதம் ரெவ திரு-
- 3 வாய் மொளிர்து அருளினபடிக்கு சிலாமுறி⁴ [1*]
- 4 வடகரை விந்தன்னர் திருமூலத்தானமுடையார்
- 5 கொவில் சிபண்டாரகாரியம் செய்வார்களுக்கு [வர]க் காட்டி-
- 6 ன காரியம் [1*] சுவாமியார் கொவில் முன்னுள் நடந்து பெ[ரான] படி
- 7 வெ-
- 8 ண்டாம் மென்று களித்துக் கட்டளை இட்டொம் [1*] மெற்படியெ இ-
- 9 ன்னுள் மு-
- 10 தலுக்கு ஆசந்திராக்கம் சுவ-மாநியம் ஆக செம்பிலும் சிலைஇலும் வெ-
- 11 ட்டி ந-
- 12 டத்திக கொள்ளுவார்களாகவும் [11*]

Abstract of Contents.

On the 5th day of the month of Āṇi in the year Śōbhakṛit which was current after Śaka 1526, an order was issued to the accountants of the treasury of Tirumūlathānam-Uḍaiyār temple at Viṇḍanūr that certain lands were to be treated as *sarvamānya* in supersession of some old arrangements⁵.

1 Read சொபகிது.

2 Registered as No. 34 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1086 M. E.

3 Read சொபகிது.

4 முறி is a document, and a சிலாமுறி is a கல்வெட்டுப்பிரமாணம்.

5 This record seems to be supplementary to No. 63 above.

No. 64—On the east wall of the mandapa, Amman shrine: Saka 1527.

Text.¹

- 1 ஸஹஸ்ரஹ [1*] [ச]காத்தம் துருவமெ மெல் செல்லாநின்ற . . . னு
[ஆனி]-
- 2 மாதம் கெவ ஸ்ரீமது முத்துவீரப்பநாயக்கராய . . . சித்துக் குடுத்த
- 3 . . . சாமி நாராயணமுதலியா . ரொம் [1*] வடகரை விந்தனார் திருமூல-
த்தானமு-
- 4 டையார் அபிஷேக கட்டளைக்கு நல்லபெருமாள் பிள்ளை அய்யன் அறை-
க்கு . .
- 5 த்துக் குடுத்த சித்தாத்தம்கரை . . யூர் சுறவைகாணத்தில் [அக்காசில்]
இக்காரம்பி[ள்ளை]
- 6 பெருமாள் நம்பி உள்பட்ட குடிஆழ் இவர்கள் பெரில் உண்டான கால-
ப்பிரிவு-
- 7 க்கு உண்டான இறையும் சில்வரி பெருவரி ஏற்பெர்ப்பட்டதும் இன்னு-
- 8 ள் முதலுக்க சுவாமி அபிஷேகத்துக்கு விட்டபடியினாலே ஆசந்-
- 9 திராக்கம் தந்ததி பெறவெசமெ செம்பிலும் சிலைஇலும் வெட்டி
- 10 நடத்திக் கொள்ளுவார்களாகவும் [11*]

Abstract of Contents.

On the 19th day of the month of [Āṇi] in the Śaka year 1527, the land called Nallaperumāl Ayyaṇarai was granted by Śrīmat Muttu-Vīrappa-Nāyaka-ayyan for the expenses of conducting the bathing ceremony of the god Tirumūla-sthānam-Uḍaiyār at Vindaṇūr on the northern bank (Vaḍagarai). Certain taxes, namely, *irai*, *śilvāri*, *peruvāri*, etc., were deducted and the charity had to be conducted as long as the moon and the stars endure.

No. 65—On the north wall of the Siva temple.

This record engraved on the north wall of the central shrine of the Śiva temple in the same village registers the gift of lands by a private individual named Kōḍaichchan of Vindaṇūr for the *pradōsha* evening service to be conducted in the temple of Tirumūlanātha for the merit of Pichchan-Uttamagaṇṇan, and for special worship to god Subrahmanya on Kārttigai days every month for the merit of Ammai-aḍiyāṇ.

The date when these gifts were made is not given, but from the Tamil characters of the record, it may be assigned to about the same period as the above two inscriptions.

Text.²

- 1 ஸஹஸ்ரஹ [1*] சுவாமி திருமூலனாதர் பிறதொ-
- 2 ஷகட்டளைக்கு வடகரை விந்தனார்
- 3 கீழைத்தெரு கொதைச்ச ³கு பிச்ச-

1 Registered as No. 34 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1086 M. E.

2 Registered as No. 26 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1086 M. E.

3 This symbol is not understood. It may be கணக்கு.

- 4 ன் உத்தமகங்கன் புண்ணியமாக
 5 கொண்டுவிட்ட இவ்வூர் பெரியகுளத்தின் கீழ் ப-
 6 த்துக்க[ர]ல் சங் கண்ணாறு தடி கட வ கங் கண்ணாறு
 7 தடி கட வ ஆக தடி உட சப இன்னிலம் அரைமாவு-
 8 ம் ஆசந்திர[ர]ற்க்கம் பிறதொஷகட்டையா-
 9 க குடிநீங்கா தெய்வ[*]தானமாக அனுபவித்து-
 10 காண்டு பிறதொஷ[ம்*] ஒன்றுக்கு அபிஷே-
 11 க கட்டை நெய்வெத்தியத்துக்கு பணம்
 12 ஒன்றாக ஆண்டு ஒன்றுக்கு இருபத்தஞ்சு பண-
 13 ம் குடுத்துப் பொதுவாராகவும் [1*]
 14 ஷை அம்மையடியான் புண்ணியமாக
 15 குமாரருக்கு மாதம்தொறும் காத்திகைத்தி-
 16 ருநாளுக்கு நடக்கும்படிக்கு கொ-
 17 ண்டிவிட்ட மெட்டுமடை ருங் கண்ணா-
 18 று தடி கட வடந இன்னிலம் காணி
 19 முந்திரிகையும் [11*]

Abstract of Contents.

Kōdaichcha, a resident of the east street of Vindaṇūr gave $\frac{1}{2}$ *ma* of land comprised in two bits of land under the Periyakuḷam of the same village for conducting the *pradōsha* evening worship of god Tirumūlanātha for the merit of Pichchan-Uttamagaṅgaṇ. This land was let out on *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* tenure (tenantship in perpetuity) and 25 *paṇam* had to be paid to the temple every year at the rate of one *paṇam* per *pradōsham* for the expenses of offerings and the sacred bath.

For the merit of Ammai-āḍiyāṇ, a gift of *kāṇi* ($\frac{1}{80}$) + *mundirikai* ($\frac{1}{320}$) was also made for conducting the special worship of god Kumāra (Subrahmanya) on the day of the Kārttigai asterism every month.

No. 66—Cape Comorin record of Muttu-Virappa-Nayaka: Kollam 782.

Text.¹

First side.

- 1 சகாத்தம் கண்ணாறு
 2 மெல் செல்லாநின்ற கொ-
 3 ல்லம் எராமுட ஹு² வை-
 4 காசிமாதம் நடவ பூறுவ பக்க-
 5 த்துப் பூர்ணையும் பெற்ற வி-
 6 சாகத்தினுள்ச் செய்த ச-
 7 த்திமுகமாவது [1*] முறத்-
 8 தானாட்டுக் குமரியில் நாச்-
 9 சியார் குமரிப்பகவதி நா-
 10 ச்சியார் கொயில் சீபண்ட-

1 Registered as No. 41 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1085 M. B.

2 The details of date correspond to A. D. 1607, May 1. Friday, '77; '81.

- 11 ரக்காரியஞ் செய்வார்-
- 12 களொம் மெற்படி நாட்-
- 13 டு மெற்படியூரில் மெற்படி
- 14 கொயில் தன்மகத்தர்
- 15 கணக்கு என்னுடைய
- 16 நயினான் திருநெல்வெளி-
- 17 ப்பெருமாளுக்கு [1*] தினப்ப-
- 18 டியாகச் சிலவு நடக்கு-
- 19 ம்படிக்கு நாச்சியார்க்-
- 20 கு நித்தற்படி நடந்துபொ-
- 21 தும் காலசந்தி பூசையில் ந-
- 22 ாளது முதல் நாளொன்று-
- 23 க்கு கற்பித்த சொறு குருணி இ-
- 24 ந்த சொறு குருணிக்கும
- 25 நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு அமுதுபடி
- 26 குருணியாக மாதம் ஒன்று-
- 27 க்கு அமுதுபடி இருகலனெ
- 28 தூணி பதக்கு இதுக்கு இர-
- 29 ண்டஞ்சுக்கு மாதம் ஒன்று-
- 30 க்கு இருவதும்படி ஂ கூட ந-ஂ
- 31 ஆக ஆண்டு ஒன்றுக்கும் அதிக-
- 32 க நாள் அஞ்சுக்கும் ஂ
- 33 கூட சிறுபடி இதுவும் ஆறி-
- 34 ல் ஒன்று கூற்றரிசிக்கு ஆ-
- 35 ண்டு ஒன்றுக்கும் அதிக
- 36 நாளஞ்சுக்கும் நெல் கொ-
- 37 ட்டை ஒன்பதெ அரைக்கா-
- 38 ல் நித்தற்படிக்கு நெல்
- 39 கொட்டை ஒன்றரை இதுவும்

Second side.

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 40 ஆக கொட்- | 56 பற்றில் காக்க- |
| 41 டை அன்பத்- | 57 ரைக்குளமும் |
| 42 தாறெ காலு- | 58 புரவும் கிணறு- |
| 43 க்கு சத்தக்கூ- | 59 ம் கரைக்கா- |
| 44 லிக்கு நடை மு- | 60 டும் கூடச் சி- |
| 45 ப்பதுக்கு ப- | 61 லவு நிலமாக |
| 46 ணம் முப்பது | 62 விட்டுத் தந்து |
| 47 ஆக ஆண்டு ஒ- | 63 இவ்வகைப்ப- |
| 48 ன்றுக்கு நெல் | 64 டியெ ஸ்ரீது |
| 49 கொட்டை அ- | 65 விசுவநாத ந- |
| 50 ன்பத்தாறெ- | 66 ராயக்கரான |
| 51 காலுக்கும் ப- | 67 முத்துவிரப்ப- |
| 52 ணம் முப்பதுக்- | 68 நாயககர் அ- |
| 53 கும் மெற்படி | 69 ம்யன் அவர்க- |
| 54 நாட்டு புல்ல- | 70 ன் கற்பித்து ந- |
| 55 ாலங்குறிச்சி | 71 ராச்சியார்க்- |

- | | |
|------------------|---------------|
| 72 கு நித்தம்ப- | 76 சொறு குரு- |
| 73 டி நடந்து நெ- | 77 ணியும் நா- |
| 74 பாணம் கால- | 78 ளது முதல் |
| 75 சந்தி பூசை | |

Third side.

- 79 தன்மகத்தர் கண-
 80 க்கு என்னுடைய ந-
 81 யினான் திருநெல்வெலி-
 82 ப்பெருமாள் ஆசந்திர-
 83 தாரவற் சந்ததிப்பித-
 84 வெகமெ பற்றிக் கைய-
 85 ாண்டு பொதும்படி கற்-
 86 பித்து நாச்சியார் சன்-
 87 னதியிலிருந்து சத்திமு-
 88 கமும் எழுதிக்குடுத்துக்
 89 கல்லிலும் வெட்டிக்குட்த்-
 90 தொம் சிபண்டாரக்காரி-
 91 யஞ் செய்வார்+ளொம [11*] இ-
 92 ப்படிக்கு சீகாரியம்
 93 முதலிநாயக்கர் எழுத்து
 94 அத்தாந்திரக்கணக்கு
 95 கண்ணாயிரம் எழுத்து க-
 96 டைக்கூட்டு கணக்கு
 97 செவ்வந்திராத [12]ள்ளை
 98 கணக்கு குமாரசுவாமி
 99 எழுத்து செவ்வந்தி செ-
 100 ட்டியார் கணக்கு பற்பனா-
 101 பன் எழுத்து வாலப்ப நா-
 102 யக்கற் கணக்கு மாதிக் கு-
 103 ட்டி எழுத்து நாகுச்செட்டி-
 104 னாயக்கர் கணக்கு சடெ-
 105 காபன் எழுத்து தெவநா-
 106 ததிக்கிஷர் கணக்கு கண்-
 107 டை எழுத்து முதல் பற்று நெ-
 108 மற்படி கணக்கு சிவந்திர-
 109 குட்டி காளிகுட்டி எழுத்து
 110 மெற்படி அனந்தன் இரவி
 111 எழுத்து தன்மகத்தர் கண-
 112 க்கு நயினான் பெருமாள்
 113 எழுத்து சீபண்டாரகணக்-
 114 கு நயினான் மாத்தாண்-
 115 டன் எழுத்து ||

Translation.

In the Kollam year 782 which was current when Śaka 1529 had expired, on the 3rd day of the month of Vaiśākṣi—a day of the Viśākṣa-asterism and

paurnimā-tīthi, the following permanent deed (*śattimukam*) was issued by the officials of the treasury of the temple of goddess Kumari-Bhagavati at Kumari in Muṛattā-nādu, to Enṇuḍaiya-nayināṇ Tirunelvēlipperumāl, the accountant of the Dharmakarttar.

The scale of expenditure for the conduct of the daily morning service (*kālai-śandi*) of the goddess Nāchchiyār, is

one *kurūṇi* of rice per day for cooked food of one *kurūṇi* daily, *i. e.*, two *kalam*, one *tūṇi*, and one *padakku* per month;

or in the proportion of five for two, the paddy according to the 20-measure is $3\frac{3}{4}$ *kōṭṭai* per month;

i. e., for one year and for the five extra days (of a year), the paddy required is $45 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{8}$ *kōṭṭai*;

for the *kūrṛariṣi* or rice for apportionment (*kūrū*), the paddy (required) is $9 + \frac{1}{8}$ *kōṭṭai* for one year and the extra five days:

$1\frac{1}{2}$ *kōṭṭai* (per year) for the daily requirements of paddy:

in all, $56\frac{1}{4}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy:

the wages for carrying this paddy are 30 *paṇam* for 30 *naḍai* (times of carrying)—

i. e., for one year, $56\frac{1}{4}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy and 30 *paṇam*.

For the above expenses, the village of Kākkaraikkūlam in the *parṛu* (sub-division) of Pullālaṅkurichchi, inclusive of *puṛavu* (garden land), wells, and arable lands was given.

From the morning service worship, which Śrīmat Viśvanātha-Nāyakkar *alias* Muttuvīrappa-Nāyakkarayyaṇ had instituted to be conducted daily to the goddess in this manner, Nayinār-Tirunelvēlipperumāl, the accountant of the Dharmakarttar, shall from this day receive the *kurūṇi* of cooked food daily, as long as the moon and star endure and in lineal succession.

Thus did we, the officials of the temple-treasury give a permanent order (*śattimukam*) from the sacred presence of the goddess and had it engraved on stone.

Then follow a number of signatures of accountants:—Mudali-Nāyakkar, the *artāntara-kaṇakku* Kaṇṇāyiram, Kumārasvāmi, the accountant of Śevvandinātha-Pillai, Paṇṇanāṇ of Śevvandi-Settīyār, Mādikkūṭṭi of Vāḷappa-Nāyakkar, Śaṭa-gōṇ of Nāguṣeṭṭi-Nāyakkar, Kaṇḍai of Devanātha-Dīkshitar, Sivīndirakūṭṭi-Kālikūṭṭi and Anantaṇ-Ravi of the first *parṛu*, Nayināṇ-Perumāl of the Dharmakarttā, and Nayināṇ-Mārttāṇḍaṇ, the treasury-accountant.

No. 67—Cape Comorin record of Chokkanatha-Nayaka: Kollam 839.

The subjoined inscription belonging to the reign of the Nāyaka king, Chokkanātha-Nāyaka, is engraved on three sides of a stone pillar in a *maṇḍapa*

near the Chakra-tīrtham at Cape Comorin. It is dated in Kollam 839 and corresponds to A. D. 1664, June 19. It registers the construction of a *matha* on the bank of the Chakra-tīrtha to the north of the temple at Kanyākumari by Tirumalaik-kolundu-Pillai for the merit of Chokkanātha-Nāyaka and Vaḍamalaiyappa-Pillai. The former was the Madura Nāyaka ruler, the son of Muttu-Vīrappa II and the grandson of the great Tirumalai-Nāyaka who reigned from A. D. 1659-82. Maṅgammā! who became famous in Madura history and who conducted the administration from 1689 to 1706 as the Queen-Regent during the minority of her grandson Vijayarāṅga Chokkanātha, was his queen.

The lands that were endowed for the conduct of this charity were situated in Panakkudi, which is a village in the Nanganeri taluk of the Tinnevely District.

Text.¹

First face.

1 [உ] குரோதிவ்ரு சகாத்-	14 ணியமாகவும் ² வட-
2 ம் கண்டினாஅடு[சு]க்கு மெ-	15 மலையப்பபிள்ளை
3 ல் செல்லாநின்ற	16 அவர்களுக்கு புண்-
4 கொல்லம் அரங்கு ல்	17 ணியமாகவும்
5 ஆனமீம் உயிவ பூறுவ ட-	18 திருமலைக்கொழுந்து
6 ககிசத்து சத்தமியும்	19 பிள்ளை அம்மன் குமர்
7 ஆதித்த(த)வாரமுட.	20 ப்பகவதி அம்மன்
8 சித்தயொகமும் கெ-	21 ன்னிதிக்கு உத்தர-
9 சகரணபும் உத்திர-	22 திக்கில் சக்கரதித்த-
10 த்தினான் செய்த தன்-	23 க்கரை படதிருப்
11 ம சிலத்தம்பமாவது [1*]	24 புறம் திருஞான-
12 சொக்கனாதையக்க-	25 சம்மந்த பண்டா-
13 ி அப்பனுக்கு புண்-	26 ரத்துக்கு தன்ம-

Second face.

27 தானப் பிறமா-	41 ரிகுரியன் கு-
28 ணமாக குடுத்த-	42 ளத்தில் விரை-
29 படியினாலெ ம-	43 கொட்டை செம் கா-
30 டத்து நடக்கும்-	44 ளிகண்ணாற்றி-
31 படிக்கு விட்டுகுடு-	45 ல் விரை கொட்டை ரிச-
32 த்த நிலமாவது [1*] ப-	46 ம் அதன்பற்றில்
33 ணக்குடியில் [ஈ]	47 கருங்குளத்தில்
34 கரைகொளத்தி-	48 தெரெற்றுஞள-
35 ல் புதுதிருத்து வி-	49 மும் கொழும்பு-
36 ரை கொட்டை	50 னரிகுளமும் பு-
37 மரும் வில்வளை-	51 ஞ்சை விரை-
38 ஞ்சான் திருத்-	52 காட்டை நடு-
39 தில் விரை கொ-	53 ம் வாரியூரில் செங்
40 ட்டை நம் ப-	54 குளமும் அளத்தி-

1 Registered as No. 50 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1086 M. E.

2 This individual has figured in a few records in the Tinnevely District (Nos. 296 and 297 of 1916) in the reign of Tirumalai-Nāyaka.

Third face.

55	ல் மாதம் ஒன்றுக்கு உப்பு செ-	69	நுமாண்மாத ஆ-
56	காட்டை வம் நாஞ்சி-	70	னுபவித்து கொள்-
57	னாட்டு கொணமங்க-	71	வராகவும [11*] யிந்த
58	லத்து அம்மன் திருவி-	72	தன்மத்தை பரி-
59	ளையாட்டத்து விரமா-	73	பாலனம் பண்ணி-
60	த்தாண்டபெரெரி பு-	74	னவர்கள் கெங்-
61	ணர்குளம் முதுதரி-	75	கைக்கரையிலே
62	சு திருத்தும் யிது வெ-	76	அச்சுவமெதயா-
63	ல்ல[ர*]ம் விட்டு குடுத்-	77	க[ம்*] பண்ணின பல-
64	து கல்லிலும் செ-	78	மும் கெ(ங்க)ரத்-
65	ம்பி(ல்)லும் வெட்டி	79	தானம் பண்ணி-
66	குடுத்தபடியினு-	80	ன பலமும் பெறு-
67	ல யிந்த தன்ம[ம்*] ஆ-	81	வாராகவும [11*]
68	த்சந்திரப்பி-		

Translation.

In the Kollam¹ year 839 which was current after Śaka 1586, the (cyclic) year being Krōddhin, on the 20th day of the month of Āṇi, which was a Sunday with saptamī-*ṛithi* of the first fortnight, Siddha-yōgam, Gaja-karaṇa and Uttiram nakshatra, this stone pillar was prepared (and set up).

The lands which Tirumalaikkolundu-piḷḷai gave to Tirujñāṇasambandha-Paṇḍaram for conducting for the merit of Chokkanātha Nāyakarayyaṇ and Vaḍa-malaiyappa-Piḷḷai, the charities of the *maṭha* on the bank of the Chakra-tīrtha, to the north of the shrine of the goddess Kumari-Bhagavatī, are the following:—

The new reclaimed land (*tiruttu*) under the Karaikkulam in Paṇakkudi, having a sowing capacity of 15 *kōṭṭai* of (paddy) seed;

land having the sowing capacity of 3 *kōṭṭai* of seed in Vilvaḷaiñjāṇ-tiruttu;

land having the sowing capacity of 14 *kōṭṭai* of seed under the Pari-sūriyaṇkulam;

land having the sowing capacity of 14 *kōṭṭai* of seed under Kāḷi-sluiice; and dry land having the sowing capacity of 30 *kōṭṭai* of seed under the Tērēru-kulam in Karuṇkulam of the southern *parru*, and the Kolumaṇṇerikulam;

also $\frac{1}{4}$ *kōṭṭai* of salt per month from the salt-pans of Śeṅgulam at Vāriyūr; and the old waste land under the Vīramārttāṇḍa-ṇērēri, and Puṇarkulam belonging to the temple of the goddess at Kōṇa-maṅgalam in Nāñji-nāḍu.

As all these were given and this fact was engraved on both stone and copper, let them be enjoyed and the charity be conducted, as long as the moon exists.

Those who perpetuate this charity shall obtain the merit of having performed *aśvamēdha* sacrifice and *gō-dāna* gifts on the banks of the Ganges.

1 The English equivalent is A. D. 1664, June 19, Sunday; f. d. t. 12; 82.

No. 68—A few label-inscriptions in the Cape Comorin Temple.

The subjoined label-inscriptions are all engraved in the *mandapa* in front of the Kāśi-Viśvanāthar shrine within the Kanyākumari temple at Cape Comorin. From the fact that the lintel of the entrance of this shrine bears the label Pūlāndurāi-Śivaṇ, it appears possible that this shrine was built by an individual from Pūlāndurāi. Another label states that Nallaśivaṇ, probably the same individual, always keeps in mind the two feet of Pūlāndurāi-nāthar. Two other labels mention Aḷagappa-Mudaliyār¹ and Vaḍamalaiyappa-Pillai, the latter of whom has figured in some records of the Madura Nāyaka rulers. The alphabet of these labels can be only about three centuries old. The rough outline sketches of the persons, engraved in stone as prostrating before the god, were intended to denote the particular devotees, who had contributed for the erection of this shrine.

Texts of the Labels.¹

- 1 பூலாந்துறைச் சிவன்
- 2 தெவங் கன்னியா பாகன்
- 3 பூலாந்துறைநாதர் இருபாத மறவாத நல்லசிவன்
- 4 அழகப்பமுதலியார்²
- 5 வடமலைப்பிள்ளை அய்யன்³
- 6 திருப்பனி சிதம்பரம்.

The Nayaka Invasions of South Travancore.

Elsewhere⁴ it has been pointed out that the Āruvāymoli Pass has, on account of its strategic position on the trunk line of easy communication between the eastern and western halves of the southernmost apex of the Indian Peninsula, played quite an important part in the vicissitudes of Travancore history. It was the open door through which her invaders often swooped down on the prosperous taluks of Nāñji-nāḍu, bent on conquest or plunder, whenever a favourable opportunity presented itself.

In the 16th century, Travancore had experienced two visitations from the distant Vijayanagara kings in A. D. 1532 and 1545; and the second⁵ of these had been led by the Vijayanagara viceroy Rāmarāja-Viṭṭhaladēva-Mahārāya who advanced as far as Suchindram on this occasion and built the fine *gōpura* to the

- 1 Registered as Nos. 14 to 19 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1090 M. E.
No. 20 of 1090 is a simple arithmetical puzzle in nine compartments, the sum total of the three-digits in each line of which, horizontally, vertically and diagonally, is 15.
- 2 This individual appears to be a private individual and different from Aḷagappa-Pillai who has figured in a Madura record.
- 3 This Vaḍamalaiyappa-Pillai is identical with the individual figuring in No. 50 of 1086, dated in Kollam 839. The figures also in a few of the inscriptions of the Tinnevely District Nos. 296 and 297 of 1916 in the reign of the Madura ruler Tirumalai-Nāyaka.
- 4 Vide *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. V, p. 1 and the paper entitled 'Āruvāymoli Pass' in the *Journal of Indian History*, April 1925.
- 5 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 296-7.

temple there, as an eloquent memento of his achievements in the South. The succeeding century had to endure two major and a few minor invasions by the Madura Nāyaka rulers, once during the reign of Tirumalai-Nāyaka (A. D. 1623-59) and a second time in the reign of the queen-regent Maṅgammāl (A. D. 1689-1706).

"The causes that may have impelled Tirumala-Nāyaka to invade his neighbour's territory are not clearly known, but the raid must have been due to the refusal by the Travancore king¹ to pay the customary tribute which had apparently been fixed to be paid by the Travancore kings to Madura, on behalf of the Vijayanagara Emperor, whose loyal subordinate the Travancore ruler was at this period. This invasion and the damages it had caused to the eminently agricultural population of Nāñjināḍu are referred to in a royal *nāṭṭu*² or cadjan order which is dated in the month of Kumbha in Kollam 810. The fact that a remission of taxes had to be granted for the *Kār* and *piśānam* crops helps us indirectly to fix the date of the invasion to have been before Kanni and Kumbham 810 i. e., in about the end of the year 1634. The Nāyaka's invasion must surely have overwhelmed the Travancore king and reduced him to his original position of vassalage, which he had unsuccessfully attempted to shake off.

"The second invasion of southern Travancore by the Madura army occurred during the regency of Maṅgammāl. Ever since the time of the earlier invasion noticed above, Travancore was a subordinate of Madura and had consequently to pay an annual tribute; and whenever there was a delay in its payment the 'Vaḍuga' army swooped down on the southern territory in the vicinity of the Aruvāymoli Pass and harassed the people in diverse ways. On one such occasion, the Travancore king Ravivarman (A. D. 1684-1718) who was himself hard-pressed at home by the insubordination of his feudal barons called the *Ēttuvīṭṭil-Pillamār*, entered into an alliance with the Nāyaka army and utilised its help in disposing off some of these mischievous ministers. But when that danger was past, the Travancore king inveighed the Madura army with false promises into the Kalkulam Fort and falling on it unawares, hacked it to pieces. Queen Maṅgammāl's invasion of A. D. 1697-8 was therefore one undertaken in a spirit of vengeance to wipe out this disgrace; and the Madura army overran Nāñjināḍ and wrought considerable havoc to the people. The Travancore king was finally obliged to come to terms and sue for peace by the payment of all the arrears of tribute and other presents. An extremely mis-spelt record of Queen Maṅgammāl is found on a slab set up near a well at Kōṭṭār."³

Prostrated as South Travancore had already been by the earlier invasions, these Nāyaka raids and their counter-reprisals must have not only caused considerable loss of property and life to the poor Travancore subjects, but must have also engendered in them a feeling of deep resentment against their king, who, handicapped at every turn by the machinations of his feudal barons could only look on

1 The Travancore ruler in Kollam 810 may have been Unni-Kēraḷavarman and Ravivarman whose records hitherto discovered are dated in Kollam 791, and Kollam 798-820 respectively.

2 See also *History of the Madura Nayaks*, (1924), p. 120-1. The text has been published on page 208 *infra*.

3 This para has been extracted from my paper on the Aruvāymoli Pass in the *Journal of Indian History*, April 1925.

in helpless indignation at the excesses committed by the invaders, and essay at best but a feeble attempt at driving the enemy away, which despite its futility, ended in the levy of fresh conscriptions from the already over-taxed population. Normal agriculture could not be proceeded with owing to the constant raids of the enemy, and with the plunder of paddy and seed-grain that followed in their wake, famine stalked the once prosperous tract of country, significantly named the Nāñjil-nāḍu, 'the land of ploughs' or an agricultural district *in excelsis*.

A graphic account of the devastated state of the country and the calamities which the poor people of Nāñjil-nāḍu from Maṅgalam¹ to Maṇakkudi had been groaning under, in consequence of these two invasions and numerous other marauding expeditions, minor in importance, but of sufficient magnitude to swell the long tale of troubles with which the poor population had already been burdened, has been furnished in a lithic inscription found in South Travancore and in a few *olai* documents² found in the house of Periyavittu-Mudaliyār of Aḷagiyapāndiyapuram whose ancestors were influential personages in these days. The purport of these cadjan *nāṭṭus* has already been ably summarised in the *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 302, *et. seq*; but the texts of these documents together with revised translations have now been appended, with a view to their importance, not only in giving us a true picture of the state of the country in that troublous century, but also in showing how the mass-assemblies put up a united front.

The *nāṭṭārs* appear to have met in council (called the *nāṭṭukkūṭṭan*) on three occasions at Vadaśēri, Īsāntimaṅgalam and at Kaḍukkarai, and to have solemnly resolved to oppose the schemes of the king, which involved only the imposition of further grievous taxes on them, without the protection of life and property for which taxes are levied from the subjects, to safeguard their ancient privileges, whose established currency was being set aside by the high-handed conduct of the king's officers, to make a united stand against the oppressions of the king's mercenary agents, and to leave Travancore and settle elsewhere outside its frontier, in case proper assurances of redress were not forthcoming and their grievances were not set right by early and effective measures. According to the *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 323-4—

"The Nāñjināḍ people became desperate . . . The spirit of lawless defiance to the king's authority engendered by the state of affairs in the country reached its climax, when the people met and resolved that any man who acted against the interests of the public therein assembled was to be treated as a common enemy and dealt with accordingly . . . The people also more than once abandoned their houses and took to the neighbouring hills refusing to return to their villages unless the king promised to redress their grievances."

1 Maṅgalam has been identified with a village of that name near Ponmana, and Maṇakkudi is a village in South Travancore 5 miles from Suchindram.—*T. S. M.*, Vol. I, p. 316.

2 These were found copied in a register in the office, and though their correctness could not be verified now, they have been accepted as such. The *State Manual* account appears to have been based on these transcripts only.

The king finally promised them concessions, in case they came and settled down to peaceful agriculture as before.

Most of the revenue terms and other expressions that have been used in these records are given below, and their significance has also been explained, wherever possible, from the *Trav. Rev. Manual* etc.

Aḍakkirāvu—appears to signify a variety of paddy. Can in be *Arakkan-Kuruvai* used for the *Arakkal* crop which is harvested in Kanni?

Ambalakkarakar—This is the name of a class of Śūdra servants doing service in temples, such as weaving garlands etc., for the god's worship. In north Travancore they are called *Ambalavasis* and have now crystallized into a distinct sub-caste, on account of their profession. But here *Ambalakkārar* means 'the men in charge of a village'.

Āṇavāl—is the Brahman-manager of the temple. *Āṇavāl* or *Āṇayāl* is literally 'one who mounted on an elephant'; but it is probable that *ṇa* has wrongly been used in place of *ṇa*, and that the word has perhaps to be derived from *āṇai* + *āl*, the man who wields authority (*āṇai*: Skt. *ājñā*). *Anavālu* occurs in Telugu inscriptions in the sense of a witness like *āṇatti* in Tamil. (*Mad. Epig. Rept.* for 1922, p. 108).

Āṇḍaikkurī—*Kurī* is the name for a note (*kurippu*) or receipt and *āṇḍaikkurī* is therefore the receipt for the year.

Āṇjāli—was the name of a kind of cess levied on paddy lands in South Travancore. It is considered to represent 'the tax in grain which was substituted in place of the expenses of providing wicker-work images which it was the duty of the Nāñji-nāḍu people to set up during the festivals in temples.' The derivation of the word is however obscure though it is said to be compounded of *āṇju* = five and *āli* = images.

Āṇḍāvi—is derived from *Āṇḍāḷvi*, a brother (therefore a term of respect). Gundert gives the meanings 'a tutor' or 'head of a company of actors'. It now represents a class of Brahmans who are connected with the management of the temples.

Chōddiyam-chōḍi—*chōddiyam* originally connoted 'enquiry', but it had also the higher significance of 'a trial sometimes supplemented with torture'. The back-biters among the ryots (*nāṭṭārs*) appear to have been simply put on trial and when their complicity against the general interests of the village assemblies was proved, some punishment appears to have been inflicted on them, such as fines, confiscation of property etc.

Dēsa-taḍai—Distrain of the lands in villages.

Kachchai-yāvinai—*Kachchai* is cloth and *yāvinai* (*yāvanū*) means a gift. This tax appears to be connected with the supply or gift of cloth; but it has been interpreted to mean 'the shreds of cloth used for torches' (*pandam*)—T. S. M., Vol. I, p. 317.

Kaḍan-murī—A promissory note for a loan.

Kaikkūli—is a bribe, and this is also its meaning in Tamil. In Malayalam, however, it has the additional connotation of the fine upon a lease and its renewal.

Kāṇam—is a kind of tenure on lands, according to which a loan of money is given as equivalent to mortgage, and a portion of the produce over and above the interest on the loan is also paid to the owner.

Kaṇḍulavu—lands held on a particular tenure. It is also called *Kaṇḍukriṣhi*.

Kāṇiyāṭchi—Hereditary rights of enjoyment of property, land, service, etc, granted to individuals.

Kār—is the crop gathered in Kanni (Sept.-Oct.).

Kara—An administrative unit called the *pravartti*, a small village.

Kāraṇavanmār—Heads of the family and hereditary predecessors and ancestors generally, in the West Coast; they are in the case of the *marumakkattāyis*, the maternal uncles who manage the properties of the family. The descendants and next in succession are called *anantaravar*.

Kōḷum-kumaṇḍaiyam—means back-biting and tale-bearing.

Kōṭṭai-paṇam or *Kōṭṭai-padivu*—is probably an unusual tax at the rate of some *paṇam* for land having a sowing capacity of a *kōṭṭai* of paddy; or it may refer to a military cess collected for maintaining fortifications and defence walls during wartime, as the *State Manual* has taken it. But in view of the information contained in one of the *ōlai* documents on p. , which says that the king forcibly demanded 125 *paṇam* per *kōṭṭai* (of land), the correct significance is not clear.

Kōvikkal—Palace and, by metonymy, the king, *kal* is the locative suffix, which is often erroneously retained in Malayalam even in the nominative case.

Kuḍichchai-paṇam—This word may probably be *kuḍiśśika-paṇam*, signifying arrears of tax and amounts due.

Kuḍi-vāṅgu—is to emigrate in a body to another place. *Kuḍi* = residence, and *vāṅgu* = to remove.

Maḍappiṇam—represents the lands etc. endowed as charity for the maintenance of *maṭhas* for the residence of an ascetic or for providing drinking water etc. to wayfarers. These lands cannot be sold to others.

Maḷavarāyaṇmār—is not clear; it occurs as a clan-name elsewhere.

Maṇalvāri—a variety of paddy grown in Nāñji-nāḍu, dependent probably on rain only.

Mānibam—is a gift of land made to individuals for meritorious service to kings or to government. These lands were inalienable and were only lightly taxed.

Māttāl-paṇam—A kind of tax imposed on the people in Nāñji-nāḍu—‘an exchange commission’. If it be a tax of some *paṇam* per *mā* of land, we may have to expect *māvāl*, not *māttāl*.

Mēlvāram—A tax levied in kind on paddy-fields in addition to the ordinary dues paid to the government. The landlord’s share of produce is also called *mēlvāram*.

Mēttu-kāval—*Kāval* is a watchman, and *mēttu-kāval* probably has reference to a guard stationed in a commanding position (*mēḍu*), to watch over the doings of a village.

Mōḷi-mārā-ōlai—An agreement from which there was no possibility of retraction, as this was sworn on the names of gods at Suchīndram and Bhūtapāṇḍi.

Nārraḍi—the plot used as the nursery, for rearing the seedlings prior to transplantation (*nārrup-paḍi*).

Naṭṭuttānam—means the *sthānam* of the *nāḍu*, or the rights, privileges, and status, which the *nāḍu* enjoyed in political and social matters.

Oḷugu—primarily means a boundary, but as derived from *oḷuṅgu*, 'a regulation in proper order', *oḷugu* has come to signify the sifting of old accounts and the checking of entries made from them. *Oḷugu* therefore connotes 'revenue settlement accounts' checked and reduced to some settled order.

Oppuravu-mōḷi-ōlai or *oppuravu*—means an agreement of union (*oppu + uravu*). The document (*ōlai*) refers to a bond of union, which the parties entered into, to act unswervingly according to established customs and obligations.

Paḍivu-kāṇikkai—*paḍivu* is a document acknowledging the ryot's right to cultivate and *kāṇikkai* is a fee. The fee was apparently for getting the document written up and registered in the ryot's name. *Paḍivu* also means the usual expenses (of a temple).

Paḍukalam—is a debt-bond. Arrears of taxes on land were consolidated into a *paḍukalam*, because lands were not auctioned for arrears of rent, and an extra cess was levied on such lands as *paḍukalam-paliśa* to compensate the interest on the old arrears.

Paliśa—is the interest on money lent; it also occurs as *poliśai*.

Paṇḍalai—is a high caste Śūdra, but of a lower status than a Kshatriya. The Sāmūdiri is said to belong to this class.

Pandattinu-āmanakkeṇṇai—Castor oil for torches used during the entourage of kings.

Pāṭṭam—is an ordinary kind of lease, according to which the cultivator pays to the proprietor a stipulated proportion of produce in kind or in money etc., equal to the net produce, after the deduction of the seed sown and an equal quantity as reward for labour bestowed. It is of several varieties according to the particular nature of the transaction and the proportion of the quantities appropriated by the tenant and the owner respectively: *śamayap-pāṭṭam*, *nēr-pāṭṭam*, *tarap-pāṭṭam*, *maḍappu-pāṭṭam*, *paṇaip-pāṭṭam*, etc.

Peṛām(p)-pēru—*Pēru* is the abstract noun of *peru* (to obtain) and *pe-rān(p)-pēru* probably signifies that which is not due to be levied or demanded.

Perumparra or *Perumparru-pāṭṭam*—is the variant name of *Paṇḍāravaka-pāṭṭam* and means the crown-lands belonging to the king leased out to tenants under a particular system of tenure.

Piḍāgaikkāraṇ—*Piḍāgai* is a sub-division comprising of a few villages and a *piḍāgaikkāraṇ* is the head of that territory. Nāñji-nāḍu was divided into six *piḍāgai*. *Nāḍu*, *piḍāgai*, *ūr* and individual have been referred to in the subjoined records in the descending order of unit measurement.

Piramadānam (*Brahmadānam*)—gifts of land to brahmans for their proficiency in learning or for their spiritual services; these lands were sometimes held tax-free.

Piṇḍanāl-virai-vakai—the gifts of paddy-grain given to brahmans on birth days. This supply of paddy required for distribution during royal birth-days is said to have originally devolved on the ryots, and that it was afterwards commuted into a small tax and collected on the lands in Nāñji-nāḍu.

Pisāṇam—is the Kumbham crop, ready for harvesting in Kumbham (Feb.-March).

Pū—is a crop, and *oru-pū* and *iru-pū* signify single and double crops raised on a field, according to its irrigation and other facilities.

Rāja-karam—royal hand i. e., the royal administrative officers and the tribunal of the kings ministers. *Rāja-karam* also means the *karam* (taxes) due to the *rājā* (king).

Rājakara-upādi—the tax which had to be paid to the officers of the king. *Upādi* is the name of a tax—as in *upādi-viniyōgam* etc.

Śambā—is a superior kind of paddy-grain extensively grown in Nāñji-nāḍu.

Śāvu-kāṇikkai—was the funeral fee, usually a small amount which had to be paid to the king on the death of an individual. Similar fees were levied on festive occasions also, such as *Vāḷvu-kāṇikkai*, *Kaṇṇāla-kāṇikkai* etc.

Śēda-yādam—means loss of property and life and other evils.

Śirroi—is a sub-lease which the lessee of a certain property enters into with another, to whom he leases it out for some amount.

Śōṟā-orri—also called the *māḷa-orri*, is a permanent lease or irrecoverable tenure, in the nature of *kuḍi-janmam*. As the *Kāraṇavanmār* in big families (*taravāḍ*) could not sell properties outright, they had recourse to the leasing of lands in perpetuity, for an amount almost equal to their normal sale value.

Talaikkurī or *tālaikkaranam*—is the original deed: *talai* signifies 'the first', while *kurī* is a document granted to the ryots, corresponding to *padivu* or *pattā* of later days.

Tali-saṅkētam—*saṅkētam* is the name of a religious corporation and *tali* is a temple. The lands belonging to a temple were under the control of a separately constituted body of members, who, in olden days, wielded unlimited powers within their jurisdiction. Even the king had no control over these corporations except in a general way. The lands belonging to the temples and managed by the *yōgams* were also exempt from the payment of certain taxes and were under a special form of tenure.

Tāṇa-māṇam—Rights and privileges; 'a position with emoluments conferring authority of different kinds and varying degrees'. *Tāṇa* may be derived both from *sthāna* (status, right) or *dāna* (gifts).

Taṇippichēlam—This is not understood.

Taṇittenḍam—individual fines.

Tīttukkuri—*Tīttu* is a Malayalam form of the word *śīttu* and means 'a writ or document of brahmans and other high personages', and *kuri* is a note. *Tīttukkuri* is therefore a document belonging to brahmans etc.

Tettu—properly *dattu*, means adoption. Apparently the properties connected with adoption were given special consideration.

Torūpa-janaṅgaḷ—*Torūpam* is a Malayalam form of *Svarūpam*, royalty. *Svarūpa-janaṅgaḷ* may therefore mean royal agents. *Svarūpi* is a chieftain or councillor. 'Svarūppakkār' as opposed to 'illakkār' connotes a lower section of śūdras in Travancore, who take service not under brahman masters but with higher class śūdras.

Turakkārār—'are agents, accountants and other servants of a temple'. Under *pravartikārs*, the last in gradation among the managing officers of respectability, were several inferior officers of whom a *Turakkāran* was one.

Ubhayam-paliśa—In South Travancore, *ubhayam* has the meaning of rice-fields (*ulppatti*). *Ubhayam-paliśa* is the interest, probably in kind, due on money or grain borrowed from the sirkar by the ryots in olden days.

Uḷkuḍu—*Uḷ* is the 'interior' and *kuḍu* is 'to give out'. The expression may be taken to mean 'to divulge the internal arrangements' to the opposite party.

Ulppatti—means 'lands' in Nāñji-nāḍu; the produce on lands may also be so called.

Vayyā-vari—Taxes that could not be borne (*vayya* is a Malayalam form of *vahiyā* from the Skt. word *vah* = to bear).

Vīttōḍum-kūttōḍum—*Vīḍu* is 'the house', i.e., the inmates thereof, and *kūttu* means his 'relatives and companions'. The full expression means 'all his relatives and dependants'.

No. 69—Olai document dated in Kollam 810.

Text.¹

- 1 திருமலை னாயக்கர் படை கொண்டுவந்த எதுவாய் எண்ணுற்று ஒருபதா-
- 2 மாண்டு கார் தரிசு விழுந்து பசானம் பயிரெற்றுவான் காலப்பிறப்பாடா-
- 3 கொண்ட மணவாரியும் சம்பாவும் அதிக்கிராவியும் விதைச்சு புழுக்கொ-
- 4 கொண்டம் பொதரவு இல்லாழ்கைகொண்டும் நாட்டின்னு நொவு நொ-

1 This has been referred to in the *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 302. The text of this Olai-document was found in a Register in the office.

- 5 மங்கலமுதல் மணக்குடி வரை பெருமபற்றுத் தளிச்சங்கெதம் உள்ப-
ட்ட நாட்டார்
- 6 கல்துளத்து நாம் இரிக்கின்ற இடத்து வந்து தங்கடம் பறைகையில்
- 7 எண்ணூற்று ஒருபதாமாண்டு பசானம் ஒருபூ மெல்வாரம் வெண்டி-
மென்றும்
- 8 பசான மெல்வாரமாய் அளக்குமாரும் செய்க[1*] இது எண்ணூற்று ஒ-
ருபதாமாண்டு மாசிமாதம்
- 9 இருபத்து இரண்டாந் தெயதி கல்ப்பித்தமைக்கு இவ்வகைப்படியே ம-
ங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி
- 10 வரை பெரும்பற்று தளிச்சங்கெதம் உள்ப்பட பசானம் மெல்வாரமாக
அளக்குமாறு கற்பிச்சு
- 11 இச்செப்தி சொல்லி நாஞ்சினு மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை பெரும்ப-
ற்றுத் தளிச்சங்கெதம்
- 12 உள்பட்ட வடவகை தென்விதி நாட்டார்க்கு கீட்டு எழுதி ஐதிக என்று
திருவுள்ளமாயது கீட்டு [11*]

Translation.

As, on account of the invasion of the troops of Tirumalai-Nāyakkar, the lands had been left uncultivated during the *kār* season of 810; as the season for sowing for *piśāṇam* crops could not also be utilised; as the *maṇalvāri*, *śambā* and *adik-kirāvi* (different kinds of paddy) which were sown had suffered from blight; as the ryots had not the where-withal to begin fresh cultivation; and as the country had suffered much from calamities; the *nāṭṭārs* (ryots) of the territory between Maṅgalam and Maṇakkudi including those of (the lands of) *perumparṟu* and *tali-saṅkētam* came (in a deputation) to our residence at Kalkulam and represented their grievances.

We were therefore pleased to relinquish the *oruppū-mēlvāram* tax of the year 810 and ordered *mēlvāram* alone to be collected on the *piśāṇam* crop (of the year).

Having thus decided on the 22nd day of the month of Māsi that only *mēlvāram* shall be realised on the *piśāṇam* cultivation in the territory from Maṅgalam to Maṇakkudi, inclusive of the *perumparṟu* and *tali-saṅkētam* lands, this *nīṭṭu* (order) was notified to the ryots of the southern and the northern half of Nāñjināḍu, inclusive of those of *perumparṟu* and *tali-saṅkētam* lands therein.

No. 70—Yadaseri record of Mangammal: Saka 1619.

The following record is so hopelessly misspelt, engraved as it must have been by an ignorant stone-mason, who in addition to his illiteracy appears also to have been an indifferent calligraphist, that it is impossible to make any sense out of this curious literary achievement. The date appears to be Śaka 1619, [Arpaśi], *dviṭīyā-tithi* of the first fortnight, and Hasta-nakshatra. In the auspicious Kumbha-lagna and Panni-karṇa of this day, some charitable endowment appears to have been made, the nature of which is not determinable. In line 27 of the record the name of Maṅgammāl is mentioned; and it is possible that it refers to the

dowager Nāyaka queen of that name, who reigned as regent of her minor-grandson, Vijayaraṅga-Chokkanātha from A. D. 1689 to 1706, because the date of the record Śaka 1619 corresponds to A. D. 1697, the year in which this queen is said to have fitted out an expedition to Nāñji-nādu against the refractory Travancore king of that time *T. S. M.*, I-318. The well near which this inscribed slab is set up is locally called the Maṅgammāḷ-*dharma-kiṇṇaru*.

The individual named Ārumuga-Peru[māḷ] who appears to have been mentioned in lines 23 and 24 may possibly be identical with his namesake who has figured in the cadjan documents dated in Kollam 878, 889 and 898.

Text.¹

1	சாலிவக-	21	ன்று சுயதன-
2	ம சதந்த்தள்	22	த்தில் செட்-
3	சன[சு]ரயக	23	[ங்] ஆறுமுகப்-
4	வல்ச்சலமன	24	பெருஞ்ஞமல-
5	. . . செல்[லு]-	25	யசாக வமிக
6	மக்க துறு யான	26	முல்ல ய்துன்ன-
7	வைப்பசி அ-	27	ள் மங்கம்ம
8	அய வசிப்பறு-	28	வனவன்ற-
9	க்கள உமய-	29	ட்செ சங்கர-
10	ம பூறுவபச-	30	ள்ளி சட்டுள ச
11	றறு துதிகை	31	து செகம்பல-
12	சுபனாமயெ[ர*]க-	32	க சசநயிசை-
13	மும் பன்னி-	33	முனசுஞமவல
14	சரளமும் அத்-	34	புனயபளட்செ
15	த நட்செத்தூ-	35	சுகின்றெ குல-
16	மும் சும்பலெ-	36	வ சனய்யறுறு
17	ம் அதுச ந-	37	அவரிச் சென
18	ட்கெத்தி[ர*]மு-	38	றத்துன் திவெ-
19	ம் சும்பலெ-	39	மம் வெச்சுட்ட
20	ச்சுமம் அ-	40	ம் நெசபைமன்-
		41	வசமாக

No. 71—Vadaseri inscription of Kollam 873.

Text.²

First side.

1	அர அயந னு காத்திகை[க]மீர் சவ நாட்டு-
2	த்தங்கடம் தீத்து கல் நாட்டி கொ-
3	டுத்த வகை [ர*] நாயகரிடே படை வந்து நா-
4	ஞ்சிநாட்டில் அரநுயெ னு முதல் டல-
5	நானும் படை வந்து படைக்கெடு வநு-
6	கை கொண்டு அர[ச]யக னு பசானம் ² முதல் அர-

1 Registered as No. 118 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1099 M. F.

2 Registered as No. 112 of Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1099 M. R. A duplicate of this record is found engraved on another pillar at Vayyalivilai at Idarāyakkudi.

3 This and other words have been expressed by perplexing symbols.

- 7 சூராக ஹு பசானம் வரை அஞ்சாவி அடைச்ச
8 [கணக்கு]¹ அடைக்க கொண்டும்¹ கார்பு உம் பசானம்¹ பூ-
9 றும் ஆக பூ யும் நாம் கழிச்ச கொடுக்க-
10 யில் அஞ்சாவி குத்தகை கொட்டைப்-
11 பதிவுக் காணிக்கை பந்தத்தினு ஆமணக்கெ-
12 ண்ணை வகையும் கச்சையாவினை பிறந்-
13 நாள்[பி]ரை² வகையும் கூடக் குறைச்சுங்
14 கொடுத்து மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை ஒலை-
15 ப் பெட்டிகமும் தீட்டி குறிகளும் பொய்ப்பு]-
16 பொகையில் ஷை ஒலைகள் யாதாமொ-
17 ருத்தர் பற்றில் காணுந் நாள் கண்ட கள-
18 த்தில் கீறுங் கிழியும் பட்டுப் பெரமா-
19 றும் தனிப்பிச் செழமும் [மெ]த்தும் எடு-
20 த்தடக்கிய கரை புள்ளி காணியாட்சை
21 உள்பட்ட வகை விட்டுக் கொடுத்து[*] ப-
22 டைக்கிலாகிலும் கவர்ச்செயிலும்
23 பொய முறிவகையாலும் கரண கா-
24 ரியமெங்கிலும் உடையவன் அல்லா-
25 தே அந்நியவராயிட்டும் பெரும்³பொ-
26 யிட்டும் ஒலைகொண்டும் வருந்நாள் அ-
27 ம்யொலை பிறமாணமல்ல[*] பாட்டமும்
28 மெல்வாரமும் தழிசங்கெதழு உள்ப-
29 பட காரினு அற்பசியும் காத்திகையும்
30 பசானம் பங்குனியும் சித்திரையும்
31 நெல்லு கொடுக்கிந் தல்லாதெ வி-
32 லைத்தரத்தினு பணம் கொடுக்கயும்
33 அருது[*] வெண்டிக்கையும் அருது[*] ப-
34 டெலம் கடன்முறி உபையம் பவிசை அ-
35 ற்றுவரத்தினு படுகலம் கடன் பொ-
36 க்குகையும் வெண்டாரம்[*] தனித்தெண்-
37 டம் சாவுகாணிக்கை வெண்டா எ-
38 ற்தும் சங்கெதப் பற்றிலும் பெரும்பற்றி-
39 லும் பெறுப்பெறு வெண்டிப் பிடி-
40 ச்சு உல்பத்தி தடுத்தால் தடையிலலை எந்-
41 தும் சங்கெதக்காறர் கொண்ட கடத்தி-
42 னு மெல்வாரம் தகைஞ்ஞு வெண்டிக்கொ-
43 ள்ஞாந் தல்லாதெ தெச தடை தடுக்கருது
44 எந்நும் மெல்வாரத்தினும் பாட்டத்தினும்
45 தன் னுண்டைக்குறியும் தலைக்குறியும் கா-
46 ட்டி ஒப்பிச்சு கொள்ளுமாரும்

Second side.

- 47 நம்மிடெ ஆளு-
48 கெள் பிறப்-

- 49 பட்டால் பிரா-
50 மணர்க்கு செ-

1 Many words are expressed by perplexing symbols.
2 Can it not be நாளில் விறைவகையும்?
3 பெறுப்பெறு.

51	லவினு நெ-	69	வடசெரி
52	ல் பந்திரு நா-	70	குதிரைப்பந்திவி-
53	ழியும் சூத்திர-	71	னையிலும் வை-
54	ர்க்கு நெல் ஒன்-	72	யாழிவினோயி-
55	பதி நாழியும்	73	லும் கல்லுவெ-
56	அல்லாதெ	74	ட்டி நாட்டியதின்
57	கொடுக்க-	75	வண்ணம்
58	ருது எந்தும்	76	பிறமான-
59	ஆக இவ்வ-	77	மாக நட-
60	கைக்கு அள-	78	ந்து கொ-
61	எய்நூ அற்ப-	79	ள்ளுமாறு-
62	சுமீர் யெய்யு-	80	ம் செய்க[1*]
63	ம் அளையக-	81	யிது வடவ-
64	நூ வைகா-	82	கெ தென்மிதி
65	சுமீர் யெய்யும்	83	நாடமைந்-
66	கொடுத்த நீட்-	84	த பெர்க்கு
67	டம்படிக்கு வீர- ¹	85	கல்வெட்டு [11*]
68	வினையிலும்		

No. 72—A duplicate copy at Idarayakkudi.²

Text.

First side.

- 1 சிவமயம்
- 2 கொல்லம் அளையநூலு காத்திகை மீர் சை.
- 3 நாட்டுத்தங்கடம் தீத்து கல்லு வெ-
- 4 ட்டி நாட்டிக்கொடுத்த வகை [1*]
- 5 நாயக்கரிடே படைவந்து நாஞ்சி-
- 6 னாட்டு அளையநூலு முதல் பல நா-
- 7 னும் படை வந்து படைக்கெடு வ-
- 8 ருகைக் கொண்டு அளையநூலு பசானம்
- 9 முதல் அளையநூலு பசானம் வரைக்கும்
- 10 அஞ்சாலியில் அடைச்சு கணக்கு
- 11 அடைக்க வெண்டும் கார்பூவு உம்
- 12 பசானம் பூவு யெந் ஆக பூவு யெந் நா-
- 13 ம் கழிச்சுக் கொடுக்கையில் அஞ்சா-
- 14 லிக் குத்தகைக் கொட்டை பதிவுகாணி-
- 15 க்கை பந்தத்தினு ஆமணக்கெண்-
- 16 னை வகையும் கச்சையாவினையும்
- 17 பிறந்நாளில் விரைவகையும் கூ-
- 18 ட கொறைச்சம் கொடுத்து மங்க-
- 19 ல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை ஒலைப்பெ-
- 20 ட்டிகளும் சீட்டிகளும் பொய்-

1 The syllable வீர looks also like மா and the name of the place will then be மாவீர.

2 The place in which this stone is set up is said to have been called the Vaidyali-vilai.

- 21 ப்பொகையில் ஷெ ஓலைகளை யாதா-
 22 மொருத்தர் பற்றில் காணுந் நாள் கண்-
 23 ட களத்தில் கீற்றும் கிழியும் பட்டு-
 24 ப்பொமாமும் தன்னிப்பிச்செழும்
 25 தெற்த்தும் எடுத்து அடக்கிய கரை
 26 புள்ளி காணியாட்சை யுள்ப்பட்ட
 27 வகை விட்டுக் கொடுத்து [1*] படை-
 28 க்கிலாகியிலும் கவர்ச்சை-
 29 யிலும் பொய முறி வகையாகிலு-
 30 ம் கரணகாரிய மெங்கிலும்

Second side.

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| 31 உடையவன் அல்- | 46 யும் நெல்லு கொ- |
| 32 லாதெ அன்னிய- | 47 டுக்கிந் தல்லா- |
| 33 வராயிட்டும் பெ- | 48 தெ விலை தரத்தி- |
| 34 ரு[ப]பெருயிட்- | 49 லு பணம் கொ- |
| 35 டும் ஓலை கொண்- | 50 டுக்கையும் அ- |
| 36 டெ வருந் நாள் அய்- | 51 ருது [1*] வெண்- |
| 37 யொலைப் பிறமாண- | 52 டிக்கையும் |
| 38 மல்ல [1*] பாட்டமும் | 53 அருது [1*] படுக- |
| 39 மெல்வாரமும் | 54 லம் கடன்மு- |
| 40 தமிழ்சங்கெதம் | 55 யி உபையம் |
| 41 உள்ப்பட காரி- | 56 பவிசை அ- |
| 42 னு அற்பிசியும் | 57 த்துவராத்- |
| 43 காத்திகையும் ப- | 58 தினு படுகல- |
| 44 சானம் பைங்- | 59 மும் கடனும் |
| 45 கூனியும் சித்திரை- | |

Third side.

- 60 பொக்குகையும் வெண்டா [1*]
 61 தனித்தெண்டம் சாவு-
 62 காணிக்கை வெண்டா
 63 எந்தும் சங்கெதப்ப-
 64 ற்றிலும் பெரும்பற்றிலும்
 65 பெரு[ம்]பெறு முறி வெ-
 66 ண்டிப் பிடிச்சு உல்-
 67 ப்பத்தி தடுத்தால் தடை-
 68 யில்லை எந்தும் சங்கெ-
 69 தக்காரர் கொண்ட கட-
 70 த்தினு மெல்வாரம் திகைஞ்-
 71 னு வெண்டிச்சு கொ-
 72 ள்ளுந் தல்லாதெ தெசத்-
 73 டை தடுக்கருது எந்தும்
 74 மெல்வாரத்தினு பாட்ட-
 75 த்தினும் தன்னாண்டை-
 76 க்குறியும் தலைக்குறியும்
 77 காட்டி ஒப்பிச்சுக் கொ-

- 78 என்னுமாதும் நம்மிடை
 79 ஆளுகெள் பிறப்பட்டால்
 80 பிராமணர்க்கு செலவி-
 81 னு நெல் பன்னிருநா-
 82 ழியும் சூத்திரர்க்கு செலவி-
 83 னு நெல் ஒன்பதிநாழி-
 84 யும் அல்லாதெ கொடு-
 85 க்கருது எந்தும் ஆக இ-
 86 வ்வகைக்கு அரூ எய் வரு
 87 அற்பசி ஁ம் யெ ஁யும் அர-
 88 எயக வரு வைகாசி மீம் கொவ

Fourth side.

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 89 கொடுத்த நீட்டி- | 98 பதின் வண்ண- |
| 90 ன்புக்கு [வீர]- | 99 ம் பிறப்பாணமாக நட- |
| 91 விஜயிலும் | 100 ந்து கொள்ளுமா- |
| 92 வடசெரி குதி- | 101 ஁ செங்க [1*] இது |
| 93 ரைப்பந்தி வி- | 102 வடவகை தெ- |
| 94 னையிலும் வை- | 103 ன்மிக நாடமை- |
| 95 ப்யாழிவினை- | 104 ந்த பெர்க்கு கல்- |
| 96 யிலும் கல்- | 105 வெட்டு [11*] |
| 97 வெட்டி நாட்டி- | |

Translation.

This is the inscription (engraved on a stone and) set up on the 4th day of month of Kārttigai in the (Kollam) year 873.

Owing to considerable losses on account of the frequent invasions into Nāñji-nādu of the Nāyaka's army from (Kollam) 852 onwards, we have remitted the arrears of *añjāli*-tax on two *kār*-crops and thirteen *piśānam*-crops, or fifteen crops in all; and we have also been pleased to reduce our claims for the taxes—*añjāli*, *kuttagai*, *kōttaippadivu-kānikkai*, supply of castor oil for the torches and (presents of ?) clothes, and grain-seed on (royal?) birthdays.

As the boxes, and the *ōlai* documents in them, had been lost by the people in the territory between Maṅgalam and Maṅakkudi, we order that, if the documents should be found in the possession of anybody, they should be at once torn to pieces then and there, while those appertaining to *tanippichēlam*, and properties which have been held by adoptions, service-tenures etc., were to be in force.

When, owing to the confusion and plunder made by the forces, *ōlai*-bonds and *kāṇam*-documents which were lost, are (now) presented by different men other than the rightful owners thereof, they shall not be considered valid.

The *pāttam* and *mēlvāram*, on all lands including *tali-saṅkētam*, shall be paid only in paddy in the months of Arpaṣi and Kārttigai for the *kār* crops, and Paṅguṇi and Chittirai for *piśānam*-crops, and shall not be paid or demanded in money at commutation rates.

As the *ubhaiya-paliśa* cannot be realised on the *paḍukalam* (lease-deeds) and *kadam-muri* (debt-bonds), it shall not be demanded. The funeral fees and individual fines shall also be excused.

If the properties in *śaṅkētaparru* and *perumparru* are kept under distraint for the dues of the excess tax (*pērāppēru*), this shall not hold good.

On account of the debts incurred by the men of the *śaṅkētam* (lands), the villages shall not be distrained; but after the full *mēlvāram* is paid, the balance can then be requested for adjustment.

When the taxes of *mēlvāram* and *pāṭṭam* are paid, the receipt shall be obtained by showing the receipts for that year and the preceding year. When our subordinates go out (on tour), not more than 12 *nāḷi* shall be given to a brahman for expenses, and 9 *nāḷi* for a śūdra (per day).

Thus, the people shall act according to the regulation engraved on stones and set up at Vīra-vīlai, Kudiraippandi-vīlai at Vaḍaśēri and Vaiyāli-vīlai, in accordance with the two royal orders issued on the 17th of Arpaśi in the Kollam year 870 and on the 13th of Vaikāśi in the (Kollam) year 871.

This inscription is intended for the residents of the southern sub-division of the northern half of Nāñji-nāḍu.

No. 73—Olai document of Kollam 878.

- 1 அளையுளு அற்ப்பசி மீ கல நாடு மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை வட-
செரியில் திருவாசலிற் கூடியிருந்து எழுதின மொழியொல யாவிது
[1*] நம்முடய நாடு அராபுஉளு முதல கிளக்கெ இருந்து படையும்
வினையும் வந்தபடியினுலெயும்
- 2 முன்னக இருந்து இராசகர உபாதி யுள்ளான படியினுலெயும் நாம் கூ-
டியும் குடி வாங்கியும், பிலத்து நம்முடைய சொத்தியம் சொதிப்பிச்-
சுக்கொண்டு இராத படியினுலெயும் நம்முடய உற்பத்தியளும் கரை பு-
ள்ளி காணியாட்செயனும்
- 3 அவர் அவரெ எடுத்து அடக்கிக்கொண்ட படியினுலெயும், அந்தந்த ஊர் த்
துரக்காறர் பண்டு முன்னாள் இல்லாத காரியங்கள் நடத்தி உபத்திரிக்-
கிறபடியினுலெயும், இராசகரங்களுக்கு நம்முடைய நாட்டிலெ இருந்-
து சிலர் கொளுந் குமண்டெயுஞ் சொல்லி-
- 4 விச் சிரிக்கிறபடியினுலெயும், நெடுநாட் சென்ற படுகலங்கள் மீட்டு முறிக-
ளக் கொள்ள ஒலைகள் கள்ளப்படுகலங்கள் அவரவரெ பெறும்பெறாகக்
கொண்டு குடுத்து இராசகரங்கள் உபத்திரிக்கிற படியினுலெயும், அ-
வரவரெ சுவாசனம் இட்ட விடத்திலெ
- 5 சைப்பெட்டிகளைத் திறந்து ஒலைகள் கொண்டு வந்து உபத்திரிக்கிறபடியினு-
லெயும், சிப்பப்பைப்பெருமாள் ஆதிகெசவப்பெருமாள் வக பதினெ-
ரு மடத்திலும் மடத்துப் பொற்றிமாரும் பிள்ளைமாரும் கடன் கொ-
ண்ட வக முறியைப் பெறாக இராசகரம் வாங்கிக்கொண்டு நம்முடய
உற்பத்திகளை-
- 6 யும் விரைக்கவும் கதிர் அறுக்கவும் ஒட்டாமல் உபத்திரிக்கிற படியினுலெ-
யும், சொரா ஒற்றி மீட்ச தரவெணும் என்று உண்டான படியினுலெ-
யும், சிற்றெற்றிக்கு குறை இல்லாமல் பணம் பெறவெணுமென்று உ-
ண்டானபடியினுலெயும், நம்முடைய உற்பத்திகளைத் தள்ளுதலையா

க க-

- 7 ல்லுப்பொட்டு உபத்திரிச்ச படியினுலெயும், நம்முடய வீவெகயாயுள்ள ச-
னங்கள் தள்ளுதலையாக பெறும்பெறு கண்டு நிக்கிறபடியினுலெயும்,
நம்முடைய வக பறையடிமைக்கார் அவர் அவரெ தள்ளுதலையாக இ-
ராசகரங்கள் கூட்டிக் கைய்யாளுகிற
- 8 படியினுலெயும் மற்றும் பலகூட்டம் உபத்திரவங்கள் ஒண்டானபடியினு-
லெயும், நாம் கூடியும் குடிவாங்கியும் பிலத்து நின்று நிருபவிச்சுக்-
கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [1*] நம்முடய நாட்டுக்குள்ள ஒருவனுக்காகி-
லும் ஒரு ஊருக்காகிலும் ஒரு பிடாகைக்காகிலும்
- 9 நாட்டுக்காகிலும் ஒரு காரியகருமங்கள் வனபாய ஒண்டானாலும், பத்து
பதினாறு பணம் சிலவளிந்த தொண்டானாலும், நாட்டுப் பொதுவிலெ
குடுத்து நின்று நிக் கு நிலைக்கு நின்று கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [1*] ஒரு
ஊரிலெ நாட்டிலெ ஒரு காரியகருமம் உண்டானால் உபத்திரமுள்ள
பெர்கள்
- 10 பொதுத்தலத்திலெ வந்து கூடி அந்தந்தப் பிடாகையில் வந்து சொன்ன
உடனெ நாம் எல்லோரும் வந்து கூடி நிக் கு நிலை நின்று நிருபவிச்சுக்
கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [1*] இந்த வகைப்படியெ இந்த மொழிஒலைப்ப-
டிக்கு வந்து கூடிப் பிலவாமல் இயாதா மொருவர் கூட்டத்துக்கு வா-
ராத்திருந்தால்
- 11 வாராத் பெர்கழை நாட்டு சொத்தியம் சொதிச்சப்பொடுவொமாகவும்
[1*] இந்த மொழி ஒலைப்படி நயினார் தாணுவாலயப்பெருமாள் நயினார்
சீபாதம் தப்பாமல் மொழிஒலை எழுதிக்கொண்டோம் வடவகை
தென் மீதி நாடமைந்த ஆறுமுகப்பெருமாள் எழுத்து [11*]

Translation.

On the 1st day of Arpaśi of the (Kollam) year 878, the district (*nāḍu*) from Maṅgalam to Maṇakkūḍi met in the sacred temple at Vaḍaśēri and passed the following resolution:—

As troops and trouble came from the east; as there has been trouble from the State for some time; as we have not been united in exercising our right of protesting against coercion etc; as others have misappropriated our properties, holdings and other hereditary rights; as the agents of the respective villages have been oppressing us with unusual innovations; as some individuals of this division have carried false reports against us to the royal authorities; as royal officers are harassing us on account of the forged *paḍukalam* deeds which several persons have produced in place of old *paḍukalam* documents and discharged bonds; as they have forced open some boxes and are harassing us with the documents (extracted therefrom); as the government have taken hold of the documents executed by the *pōttis* and the *pillaimār* of the eleven *maṭhams* belonging to Śrī Padmanābha-Perumāḷ and Ādikēśava-Perumāḷ and are preventing us from cultivating or harvesting our fields; as we have had to redeem the perpetual mortgages (*śōrū-ōrri*); as the whole amounts have to be realised on sub-mortgages (*śirrōrri*); as our holdings are being arbitrarily determined by boundary-stones; as our houses are being dis-trained unjustly and their inmates evicted; as the government officials force our *paraya* (slave-) labourers to work for them as they please; and as many other similar calamities have befallen us:—

We resolve to act in unison and to make a bold stand even by emigration, and thus protect our affairs.

If any untoward things should happen to any individual, village, *piḍāgai* or *nāḍu* in this district (Nāñji-nāḍu), we shall meet from our common funds an expense even up to ten or sixteen *panam* and shall unswervingly stand upon our rights. If anything occurs in a village or in the sub-division, the aggrieved party shall meet in a public place and report the matter to the *piḍāgaikkār*, and we shall all then assemble together and resolve on what has to be done under the circumstances. If anyone fail to attend such meetings as required by these regulations, and thus weaken the party, he shall be subject to enquiry by the assembly of the *nāṭṭār*.

According to these regulations, this document has been drafted and sworn on the sacred feet of Tāṇumālaiya-Perumāḷ.

This is the writing of Ārumuga-Perumāḷ of the southern portion of the Nāñji-nāḍu north.

No. 74— Olai document of Kollam 889: Kulasekhara-Perumal.

- 1 அர அயகூ ஸ்ரீ மார்க்களி மீ யசுவ நாடு மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை இரண்டு வகை நட்டும் ஆச்சிராமத்துக் கொவிக்கலில் கூடியிருந்து ஒப்புரவு ஒலை எழுதிக்கொண்ட பரிசாவிது [1*] நம்முடைய நாட்டிலே
- 2 பலபடப் பலபட அரமனைக் குதிரையும் இராணுவம் வந்து அழிச்சதினாலையும், நாம் கொள் காணி உற்பத்திக்கெல்லாம் அஞ்சாலி மெல்வாரம் இறுத்து நட்டு தொணின நாள் முதல் நடந்து வந்து இருக்கவே கொட்டைப்பணமும்
- 3 வையாவரியும் வைச்ச இறுத்தபடியினாலையும் நாடு அறவே நொந்து கெட்டுப் பொய் யிருக்கவே இனிமெல்பட்டு தம்பிரான் குலசேகரப்பெருமாள் தம்பிரான் திருவுள்ளம் பற்றி அருளிக் கற்பிச்ச படிக்கு நடந்து சுட்டாக இனிமெல்பட்டு
- 4 அஞ்சாலியும் மெல்வாரமுமாயிட்டு உள்ள இறையும் இறுத்து வருகிறதெ அல்லாமல் கொட்டைப்பண மெங்கிலும் வையாவரி எங்கிலும் இறுக்கிறதில்ல என அப்படியிருக்க கொட்டைப்பண மெங்கிலும் வையாவரி எங்கிலும் வைக்க-
- 5 வெணு மென்று இராசகரத்திலே யிருந்து உபத்திரிக்குங் காலம் நாம் கூடியும் குடிவாங்கியும் நின்று நிறுபவிச்சக் கொள்ளுவோமாகவும் [1*] நம்முடைய நாட்டித் தானமாயிட்டு உள்ளதெல்லாம் பண்டு முன்னாள் நம்முடைய காரண-
- 6 வமார் நடத்திவந்தபடிக்குத் தானமானமாய் உள்ளதெல்லாம் நடத்திக் கொள்ளுவோமாகவும் [1*] ஆனவாள்ப் பிறப்பட்டு உண்டானால் அண்ணாவிமாருக்கு பந்திருநாளியும் நாயமாருக்கு ஒன்பது நாட-
- 7 ளி நெல்லும் ஆக விருதி குடுத்துப் பொதுவோமாகவும் [1*] ஷேஸ்ரீ கார் கொட்டைப்பணம் அனுச்ச குடிச்சைக்கு கெள்விக்காறர் கணக்கும்படிக்கு குடிச்சைப்பணம் அடைக்கிறதெ அல்லாமல் ஒழுகு என்றும் கணக்குப் பிசகு-

- 8 என்றும் சொன்னதெ உண்டானாலும், நாம் கூடியும் குடிவாங்கியும் பில-
த்துக் கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [1*] இப்படி நடந்துவாற விடத்தில் ஒரு
புடாகையிலே ஆகிலும் ஒரு ஊரிலே ஆகிலும் ஒருத்தன் பெரிலே ஆ-
கிலும் இராசகரஉபாதி கொண்டு செத யாதம்
- 9) வந்ததெ உண்டானால் நாட்டுப்பொதுவிலே சிலவு கொடுத்து நிறுத்திக்
கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [1*] இந்தப்படி நடந்து பொதுமிடத்தில் இ-
யாதா மொருத்தராகிலும் இராசகரத்துக்கு உளக் குடுத்து நாட்டு-
த்தானத்தை அழிச்ச பெர்க்கா நாட்டுச்சொத்தியம்
- 10 சொதிச்ச பொடுவொமாகவும் [1*] இந்தப்படிக்கு நயினார் தானுமாலயப்
பெருமாள் நயினார் சீபாதமெ தப்பாது நயினார் பூதனதசுவாமி சீபா-
தமெ தப்பாது இந்தப்படிக்கு இந்த ஒப்பரவு ஒலை எழுதிக் கொ-
ண்டொம் வடவகை சென்மீதி
- 11 நாடமைந்து ஆறுமுகப்பெருமாள் எழுத்து [11*]

Translation.

On the 14th day of the month of Mārgaḷi in the (Kollam) year 889, the residents of the two *nāḍus* (sub-divisions) between Maṅḡalam and Maṇakkūḍi, having met in the temple(?) at Āśrāmam, drafted the following agreement:

As royal cavalry and troops have repeatedly and in large numbers invaded (our territory) and caused great damage (to us), and as we have also been obliged to pay *kōṭṭaiṇṇam* and other intolerable taxes, though from the time this land came into existence (*i. e.*, from time immemorial) we have been continuing to pay only *aṇḱāli* and *mēlvāram* on the produce of lands under us, the land has suffered very grievously: we shall therefore continue to pay only the *aṇḱāli* and the *mēlvāram* taxes according to the royal order of king Kulaśēkhara-Perumāḷ-Tambirāṇ but not any *kōṭṭaiṇṇam* and other unusual taxes. If however, royal officers coerce us into paying *kōṭṭaiṇṇam* and other taxes, we shall protest by united action, and, if necessary by leaving the country, we shall honourably retain all the privileges and rights, which our *kāraṇavar* (ancestors) had enjoyed in olden days.

If palace officials come, we shall give them allowances at the rate of 12 *nāḱi* only for each Aṇṇāvi (personal attendant of the king) and 9 *nāḱi* only for each Nāyar among them.

As regards the balance of *kōṭṭaiṇṇam* for the *kār* crop of the above year, we should only pay arrears as per account of the *kēlvi*-officer; but if they should demand any items as due according to the revenue accounts or as due to omission of entries in accounts, we shall show our determination by united protest or by leaving the place.

While acting in this manner, if by the action of the Government, any *piḍāgai* or village, or any single individual, is subjected to any loss, we shall jointly contribute towards the expenses and stop the injustice. When the affairs are being conducted in this manner, if any one should connive with the government at impairing the privileges or rights of the country, we shall subject him to a public enquiry in the *nāḱu* (assembly).

We have thus drafted this bond of union, taking oath at the feet of god Tānumālaiya-Perumāḷ and god Bhūthanāthasvāmin not to swerve (from it).

Signed Ārumuka-Perumāḷ, of the southern division and the northern portion of Nāñji-nāḍu.

No. 75— Isantimangalam olai document of Kollam 894.

- 1 அரகூயச ஞவைகாசி மீ யருவ நாடு மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை ச-
சாந்திமங்கலத்து திருவாசலில் இரண்டுவகை நாடுங் கூடியிருந்து எ-
ழுதின மொழிமாறா ஒலையாவிது [1*]
- 2 அயுஉ ஞ முதல் ஆண்டுதொறுங் குதிரையுங் படையும் வந்து இறுத இ-
றையும் இறுத்து வையாத வரியும் வச்ச தெய்வதானம் பிரமதான
மானிப மடப்பிறத்துக்கு வையாவரியும் வச்ச இறை
- 3 இறுத்து பூசை முட்டிப் பொனபடியினாலையும், சீனிவாசராகு¹ இந்நா-
ட்டில் ஆடுமாடும் நிரை சாய்ச்ச நாட்டு அம்பலகாறரையும் பிடிச்ச
கொண்டு பொன படியினாலையும், ²பெற்றாரெட்டியென் நான்-
- 4 தொறும் நாட்டிலெ மாடு நிரை சாய்ச்ச கொண்டு பொனபடியினாலையும்,
அனந்தொசிரயக்கர் தென்மீதி நாட்டிலெ நூல் தாலியும் பறிச்ச பெ-
ண்ணும்பிள்ளை காதுகளு மறுத்து
- 5 மாடு நிரை சாய்ச்ச நாட்டிலெயுள்ள நெல்லும் வித்தும் வாரி நாட்டிலெ
மெட்டுக்காவலும் ஊர்தொறும் பொட்டு நெல்லும் வித்தும் வாரிவித்-
துக் கொண்டுபொன படியினாலையும், சிவந்திரத்தில் சுவாமி-
- 6 யுட சங்கெத மானபடியினாலெ அவிட மொரு ஒதுக்கிட மென்று சொல்லி
நாட்டிலுண்டான பெட்டிப்பிறமானமும் பொன் வெள்ளி வெங்கல
பாத்திறமும் சீலை பிடவையளும் நெல்லும் வித்தும் படைபடத்தி
- 7 கொண்டு பொட்ட வகை எல்லாம் கொள்ளை யாடினபடியினாலையும், சிவ்-
ந்திரமும் ஆச்சிராமமும் தீப்பெட்ட படியினாலையும், கடையறை முறி-
ச்சுக் கொண்டு பொனபடியினாலையும், இந்தப்படி செதப்பட்டு
- 8 நயினாருட சங்கெத மளிஞ்ச படியினாலையும் இந்தப்படி பல கூட்டம் உப-
த்திரம் நாட்டிலெ உண்டான படியினாலையும், தம்பிரான் கல்பிச்ச
காரியக்காறரும் தொருப சனங்கரும் நாட்டுத்தங்கடம் தீத்து
- 9 குடியிருத்தாத படியினாலெ, நாடு மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை கூயஉ-
ஞ கார் முதல் பயிரிடாமல் தரிசு பொடுகையில், இந்த தங்கடங்க ளெ-
ல்லாம் தம்பிரான் கல்பிச்ச காரியக்காறரும் தொருப சனங்கரும்
- 10 தீர்ப்பிச்ச தந்து நாட்டை குடியிருத்தினால் பயிர் செய்வொமாகவும் [1*]
நாட்டுத்தானமாக உள்ளதெல்லாம் காரணவமார் நெரத்தில் நடந்தப-
டியெ நடந்து கொள்வொமாகவும் [1*] நாட்டிலெ யாதா மொருவரா-
கிலும் இராச-
- 11 கரத்துக்கு உளக்குடுத்து நாட்டுத்தானத்தை உள்ளழிச்ச பெர்கள் விட்-
டொடுங் கூட்டொடுஞ் சொதிச்சக் கொள்வொமாகவும் [1*] இந்தப்-
படி நடக்குமிடத்தில் நாட்டிலெ ஒரு பிடாகையிலாகிலும் ஒரு ஊரி-
லாகிலும் ஒருவன்

12 வீட்டிலாகிலும் உபத்திர முண்டாலால் நாட்டுத்தானமாக கூடியும் குடி வாங்கியும் பிலத்துக்கொள்வொமாகவும் [*] இப்படி வடவகை தெனமீதி நாட்டமைந்து ஆறுமுக பெருமாள் எழுத்து [11*]

Translation.

On the 15th day of the Vaikāsi month in the year 894, the residents of the two *nāḍus* (sub-divisions) between Maṅgalam and Maṇakkūḍi having met at Īsāntimaṅgalam drew up the following unshakeable resolutions:

As the royal cavalry and troops had made annual visitations from the year 82 (Kollam 882), and had levied unprecedented taxes and other unbearable extortions on the *dēvadānam*, *brahmadēyam*, *mānyam* and *maḍappuram* lands, and as worship (in temples) had been hindered thereby; as Śrīnivāsa-Rāvu had lifted cattle herds and captured the *ambalakkār* also; as Peddā-Redḍi had been similarly carrying away herds of cattle from the country; as Anantōji-Nāyakkar had deprived (women) even of their marriage-badges, ruptured their ear lobes (while forcibly removing the ornaments in them), lifted herds of cattle and plundered paddy and seed-grain from the country and had also appointed *mēṭṭukkāval* in every village for further carrying off paddy and seed-grain; as all the boxes containing cadjan deeds, gold, silver, brass vessels, articles of apparel, paddy and seed-grain of the whole district which had been deposited at Suchīndram in the hope that it would be a place of safety being within the *sankētam* of the god, had all been looted; as Suchīndram and Āsrāmam had been set on fire; as all the shops (therein) had been looted; as, in this manner, even the *sankētam* of the god Nāyanār had suffered; as numerous other similar troubles had happened to us in this district; and (finally) as the officers and *svarūpakkārar* of the king have not set right these disturbances of the country to enable us to settle down in peace—

the tract of country from Maṅgalam to Maṇakkūḍi had been left uncultivated from the *kār*-season of 92 (Kollam 892).

If the king issues orders to his agents and officials to set right the disturbed state of the country and settle us peacefully, we shall begin cultivation. Our prerogatives shall be as they were formerly in the time of our ancestors. If any one connives with the Government to undermine our established rights, he and his whole family shall be answerable to us.

While conducting ourselves in this manner, if, in this district, any *pidāgai*, village or house be subjected to any trouble, we shall put a united front and, if necessary, emigrate (elsewhere).

(This is) the signature of Ārumuga-Perumāḷ of the southern sub-division and the northern half (of Nāñji-naḍu).

No. 76— Olai document of Kollam 896.

- 1 கிழக்கை நினும் வந ஹஸஸும் கதிரெயும் செயவுகம் ஒழிது கித-
சை
- 2 ஸயக்கையும் செயு [*] தைரூவபகஸ்டம் ஏஜாவகம் ஸெரிது-
திருவாழாரம்

- 3 എത്തിടറെ യെണ്ടുന്നതും ഒക്കെയും പരഞ്ഞുതെഴിഞ്ഞു കീഴ്മരുചാതി
വചിയ അമ്മാവന്റെ
- 4 നെരത്തു നടന്നു വന്ന പീരകാരത്തിനു ഒക്കെയും നടക്കത്തക്ക വണ്ണമാ-
യിട്ടു
- 5 പറഞ്ഞു തെഴികെയും ചെയ്തു [I*] താങ്ങും എല്ലാവരും കീഴ്മരുചാ-
തിയെപ്പൊലെ
- 6 നാഞ്ചിനാട്ടു വന്ന കുടിയും ഇരുന്നു കാലതാമസം വന്ന ചൊക്കാതെ കണ്ടു
നാൾ ചെച്ചയിതു
- 7 പയീർ ചെച്ചികയും വെണം [I*] ഇച്ചെയിതിക്കു എണ്ണറു തൊണ്ണറു
ആറാമാണ്ടു മാചിമാതം
- 8 ഇരുപത്തു ആറാം തെയതി കല്പിത്തമൈക്കു തെൻവീതി നാടമൈന്ന
പെർക്കു
- 9 നീട്ടു ഏഴുതിവിട്ടു എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു [II*]

Translation.

"The army and cavalry which had come from the east had been disbanded and sent back to the east. All the members of the *svarūpam* having together reached Tiruvāṭṭār and after hearing the representations as to what was needed, decided that matters shall be conducted in the same way as they were in the time of the *ammāvan* (the previous king).

All of you shall therefore come back to Nāñji-nāḍu, reside there, and shall, without delay, fix the time and begin the cultivation".

This is the order which was ordered to be issued accordingly, to the inhabitants of the southern sub-division (of Nāñji-nāḍu) on the 26th day of the month of Māsī in the (Kollam) year 896.

No. 77—Olai document of Kollam 898.

- அரகல அருவி ஆனி மீர் உயிடுவ நாயக்கர் அப்பய்யனும் ராணுவும் வந்த
வகக்கு மெல்வாரம் உபயம் பவிசை வகக்கு கொட்டை கக்கு வ
களிச்ச வகக்கு நீட்டு [I*]
- 1 நாயக்கர் வகை இராணுவம் குதிரையும் திருச்சினைப்பள்ளியில் நிந்தும்
புறப்பட்டு நாஞ்சினாட்டிலே ஈத்தன்காட்டு வெளியில் அப்பய்யனும்
- 2 வந்து பாளையஞ் செய்து இரிக்கயில் பறைஞ்ஞ அயப்பான் நாள்த் தாம-
தம் வரிக கொண்டு வித்தும் நெல்லும் பட கிடத்தி இட்டு வந்தம்
கொண்டு
- 3 நாட்டார் ஆச்சிராமத்து வந்து கடித் தங்கடம் பறகயில் எண்ணுற்றுத்
தொண்ணுற்று எட்டாமாண்டு பிசானம் மெல்வாரவும் உபையம் ப-
விசையும்
- 4 மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை தளிசங்கெதம் பெரும்பற்று உள்ப்பட
கொட்டை ஒன்றுக்குக் கால் கொட்டை நெல் கழிக்கயில்
- 5 கொட்டைக்கு முக்கால் வீதம் அளக்குமாரும் சொல்லி எண்ணுற்றுத்
தொண்ணுற்று எட்டாமாண்டு ஆனிமாதம் இருபத்தஞ்சாந் தெயதி

- 6 கல்ப்பித்தமைக்கு வடவகை தென்மீதி நாட்டமைந்த பெர்க்கு நீட்டு எழுதி விடு என்று திருவுளமாய நீட்டி.

Translation.

On the 25th of the month of Āṇi in the year 898, this is the order remitting the tax of paddy under the heads *mēlvāram* and *ubhaiyam-paliśa* on account of the visits of the Nāyaka troops under Appayyan.

While the Nāyaka troops and cavalry under Appayyan starting from Trichinopoly were encamped on the plain called Īttaṅkāḍu in Nāñji-nāḍu, as considerable plunder of paddy and seed-grain occurred, owing to the delay of some days in sending them word, when the *nāṭṭārs* having met at Āśrānam, complained about this trouble, it was ordered (by the king) that for the *piśānam* crop of the year 898, $\frac{1}{4}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy shall be remitted on every *kōṭṭai* of *mēlvāram* and *ubhaiyam-paliśa* income on all temple (*saṅkētam*) and *perumbarru* lands in the territory from Maṅgalam to Maṇakkudi.

Thus, as it was decided that for every *kōṭṭai*, only three-fourths shall be measured, this was the order which was issued to the southern portion of the northern sub-division (of Nāñji-nāḍu) on the 25th day of Āṇi in the (Kollam) year 898.

No. 78—Kadukkarai olai-document of Kollam 898.

- 1 அளகூய அ னு காத்திகை பும் டிகூவ இரண்டு வகை நாடும் மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடிவரைக்கும் கடுக்கரையூர் திருவாசலிலே கூடியிருந்து ஒப்புரவு மொழி ஒலை எழுதிக்கொண்டபடி [*] முன் கூடுநு னு பசான வரைக்கு
- 2 நாட்டிலே வய்யா வரியும் செய்யா முறையும் நடத்திவிச்ச படியினுலே, கூயி னு காரும் பசானமும் தரிசு பொட்டு இரண்டு வகை நாடும் மலைக்கு களக்கெ குடி வாங்கிப் பொன்படிசி-
- 3 னுலே, தம்பிரான் கல்ப்பிச்சு பொற்றியும் பண்டாலையும் தொருவ சனங்கனும் எல்லாவரும் கூடிப், பூதப்பாண்டிக்கு தம்பிரான் எழுந்தருளி, இரண்டு வகை நாட்டையும் வருத்திவிச்ச, கூயி னு ப-
- 4 சான வரைக்குள்ள தங்கடமும் தீத்து, ஏறபெருக்கு நீட்டுத்தந்து, வெங்கலமுரசும் கொம்பும் வெள்ளி கெட்டின பொந்தியும் கல்பிச்சுத் தந்து, கூயி னு கார் முதல் அஞ்சாலி மெல்வாரம் பண்டு முன்னுள்
- 5 நடந்தபடிக்கு பற்றிக்கொண்டு வைய்யா வரியும் செய்யா முறையும் கொட்டைப்பணமும் மரத்தால்பணமும் நாட்டிலே வைக்கிறதிலை யென்று கல்பிச்சு, நீட்டும் தந்து, பண்டு முன்னுள் நாட்டுத்தானமா-
- 6 க உள்ள சொதிக்கயும் சொதிச்சு நாட்டுத்தானமாக நடந்துகொள்ளும்படிக்கு கல்பிக்கையில், அந்தப்படிக்கு நாட்டுக்குப் பிளைச்ச பெர்கள் நாட்டுச்சொத்தியம் சொதிச்சபடியினுலே, தம்பிரான் கல்பிச்சு
- 7 பிடாகைக்கு இரண்டு வீடு வெட்டித்தள்ளிவிச்சபடியினுலேயும், கூயி னு கார் பசானம் அஞ்சாலியும் மெல்வாரமும் கண்டுமுடி பாட்டமும் தொருவ சனங்களும் சிவசயில முதலியாரும் குதிரையும் இராணுவம் வந்து நெருங்கி வெண்டினபடியினுலேயும், தம்பிரான் கல்பிச்சு மெலதிக மரத்தால் முப்பதுபணம் தெய்வதானம்

- 8 பிரமதானம் கண்டுழவும் தரிசுகளும் உள்பட பணம் வாங்கிப்படியினு-
லெயும், கூடி அருள் கார் பயிரிடுகையில் வடவகை தென்விதி யெ-
ல்லாம் தீஞ்சு கரிஞ்சு பொகையில் அரைவிளைச்சல் கால்விளைச்சல்
உள்ளதுக்கு
- 9 கொட்டைக்கு நூற்றிருபத்தஞ்சு பணம் நாட்டுத்தானத்தை அளிச்சு த-
னித்தனியெ அடிச்சு வாங்கிப்படியினுலெயும், மதிகண்ட வகைக்கு
பாதிவாரம் என்றதுக்கு இருவாரம் கொண்டு பொனபடியினுலெயும்,
- 10 நல்லூர் வில்லிபற்று வகைக்கு தரிசுக்கு நெல்லு வாங்கி படியினுலெ-
யும், சிறிய கண்டுழவு வகையில் அனுமகெதனல்லூர் வீரவகல்லூ-
ரில் பாட்டம் அளந்து சிட்டியும் தந்திருக்க மறுபடி தூக்காறருக்கு
சிட்டியும் எழுதி-
- 11 ப் பாட்டம் வெண்டின படியினுலெயும், தம்பிரான் கல்பிச்சுக் கொட்டை-
ப்பணத்துக்கும் மாத்தால் பணத்துக்கும் எழுதிவிச்ச முறியளக்கு
வைச்சதென்று கருவுகாத்துப் பிள்ளைமார் கணக்கிலும் எழுதிவிச்ச
நீட்டும் தந்தபடி-
- 12 க்கு நில்லாமல் தளவாய் ஆள் விட்டு முறிவகைக்குப் பணம் வெண்டினப-
டியினுலெயும், உற்பத்தி வைச்சதென்று எழுதினதை தீரிய எடுத்து
உழுதுகொண்ட படியிலெயும், காடு கரை புஞ்செ பயிரிட்டதுக்கு கட-
மைப்பணம் அடைச்சு
- 13 இருக்கப் பாட்டம் பணம் அடிச்சு வெண்டின படியினுலெயும், கூடி அருள் கா-
ர் புஞ்சை பயிருக்கு நாலிலொன்று வாரம் அடிச்சு வெண்டின படியினு-
லெயும், நாற்றடிக்கு கொட்டைப்பணம் அடைக்கச் சொல்லி உபத்தி-
ரிச்ச நெல்லும் வித்தும்
- 14 புளுங்கலும் அரிசியும் பொன் வெள்ளியும் வெங்கிலபாத்திரமும் சீலைய-
ளும் உழுவெற்றி கவர்ச்சை யிட்டுக் கொண்டு பொனபடியினுலெயும்,
எழு மளவராயமர்ரையும் கற்குளத்துக்கு தம்பிரான் திருமுன்னெ
அனுப்பித் திருமனதிலும்
- 15 அறிவிச்சம் பொற்றி பண்டாலை தொருவசனங்க ளெல்லாவர் கூடவும்
சொல்லியும் மறுபடி நல்லது கல்பிச்சு உபத்திரம் நிறுத்தித் தாரா-
த படியினுலெயும், முத்துப்பிள்ளையும் குதிரையும் இராணுவம் தெரிச-
ரங்கொப்பிலெ வந்திருந்து
- 16 பதிநாலு கொட்டைவாசலும் அடைச்சு மூன்று நாளாயி பசுக்கள் மாடு-
கள் தண்ணீர் குடியாமல் அடைச்சு பெண்ணும் பிள்ளை தண்ணீர்
கொர வந்த விடத்திலெ குடங்களையும் அடிச் சடைச்சு
- 17 நெல்லும் கிறும் வாசின படியினுலெயும், இரண்டு வகை நாடும் கடுக்க-
ரையிலெ குடிவாங்கி யிருக்க முத்துப்பிள்ளையும் சிறம்பலம்பண்டார-
மும் நூறு செவுகருமாயி வந்து எங்களை வளைஞ்சு பிடி-
- 18 ச்சு அடிச்ச பணம் வைப்பிக்க வருகையில் நாங்கள் பயந்து மலை கரை
யெறிப் பொனபடியினுலெ, கடுக்கரையூரில் நாலு கொட்டைவாச-
லும் அடைச்சுக்கொண்டு ஊரொக்க கொன்னை-
- 19 க் கிடுகையில், நாங்க ளெல்லாரும் அழகியபாண்டியபுரம் கீள்பால் செம்ப-
கராமன் புதுஆர் கல்மடத்திலெ வந்திருந்து கூடி வைச்ச மொளியா-
வது[11*] நாற்றடிக்கு கொட்டைப்பணம் வெச்சுக் குடுக்கிற தில்லெ-

- 20 யென்றும் கூடி அந்நாடு பசானமுதல் பண்டு முன்னாள் நடந்தபடிக்குள்ள அஞ்சாலியும் மெல்வாரமும் குடுத்து வருகிறதெ அல்லாமல் கொட்டைப்பணமாகிலும் தெய்வதானம் பிரமதானம் அடக்கியும் அஞ்சாலி
- 21 மெல்வாரம் அடக்கியும் மாத்தால்பணம் வைக்க கல்பிச்சால் நாம் இரண்டுவகை நாடும் கூடி கூடி அந்நாடு பசான முதலுக்கு இட்ட வெள்ளாமை அளிஞ்சு பொனாலும் நாம் கூடியும் குடிவாங்கியும் நாட்டுத்தானம்
- 22 மாக பிலத்துக் கொள்வொமாகவும்[11*] அப்படியிருக்க நம்முடைய நாட்டிலே ஒரு பிடாகைக்காற ரானாலும் ஒரு ஊர்க்காறரானாலும் ஒரு அம்பலக்காறரானாலும் பத்துப்பணம் கைக்கூலி வாங்கி யாகி-
- 23 லும் உள்மொழி குடுத்தாகிலும் வைய்யாவரி செய்யாமுறைக்கு வரி கொடுத்தால் வீட்டொடும் கூட்டொடும் சொதிச்ச கொள்வொமாகவும் [11*] நாம் இப்படி நாட்டுத்தானமாம்படியே கூடியும் கூடிவொங்கியும் யிருக்கிறபொது
- 24 முன் நாட்டிலே வந்து அம்பலக்காறரை வெட்டினதுக்கும் வெட்டி கொன்றதுக்கும் தானம் வருத்திகொள்வொமாகவும்[1*] நம்முடைய நாட்டிலே யிருந்து அம்பலக்காறராயிட்டுள்ள பெர்கெள் விதுரம் பரிக்க ஒண்ணுது என்றும் இப்படி நாட்டுத்தானமா யிருக்கெ
- 25 இராசகரம் ஒரு பிடாகயிலே ஆகிலும் ஒரு ஊரிலே ஆகிலும் ஒருத்தன் வீட்டிலே ஆகிலும் நெல்லும் விறலும் வாரிச் செதப் பட்டால் முதல் பொதுவிலே யிருந்து முதல் வெச்சுக் குடுப்பொமாகவும்[1*] இரண்டு நாடும் குடி-
- 26 வாங்கிப்பொனல் இயாதா மொருத்த ரானாலும் ஊருக்குள்ளே யிருந்து மணியக்காறன் கையிலே அகப்பட்டுப் பணம் வையத்தால் அவனுக்குக் கருமச்செதமும் வைச்சுக் குடாமல் நாட்டுச் சொத்தியமும் விட்டொடும் குடியொடு-
- 27 ம் சொதிச்சப் பொடுவொமாகவும்[1*] முன் நாட்டுத்தானமாக சொதிச்சதுக்கு முன்று பிடாகையிலும் பிடாகைக்கு இரண்டு வீடு தம்பிரான் கல்பிச்ச வெட்டித் தள்ளிவிச்சதுக்கு நாட்டுத்தானமாக தம்பிரான் திருமனதிலும் அறிவி-
- 28 ச்ச செதப்பட்ட முதல் வைப்பிச்சுக் குடுப்பொமாகவும் [1*] கொவிக்கலிலே யிருந்து வைச்சுத் தாராவிட்டால் நம்முடைய நாட்டிலே யிருந்து முதல் வைச்சுக் குடுப்பொமாகவும்[1*] நாட்டிலே யிருந்து மொழிகுடுத்துப் பணம் வையாமலி-
- 29 ருக்க இராசகரத்தொடெ கூடி இரண்டு நாட்டிலே யிருக்கிற பெர் யாதா மொருத்த ரானாலும் மணியம் செய்து கணக் கெழுதி வச்சத் தன்மடை சொன்னதெ உண்டானாலும் அவனை வீட்டொடும் கூட்டொடும் சொதிச்ச பொடுவொ-
- 30 மாகவும்[1*] பண்டு முன்னாள் நடந்த தனைத்துமபடிக்கு தம்பிரான் கல்பிச்ச நீட்டும் தந்திருக்க நாட்டிலே யிருந்து மொழியும் வைச்சிருக்க நாட்டிலே யாதா மொருத்தர் ஆயித் மெடுத்து செவிக்கிற பெரை வீட்டொடும் கூட்டொடும்
- 31 சொதிச்சப் பொடுவொ மாகவும்[1*] அவனவன் சாதிமுறை தப்பி நடக்கிற பெரையும் சொதிச்சப் பொடுவொமாகவும்[1*] இரண்டு நாட்டிலேயும் ஒரு ஊரிலே பாளயம் செய்திருந்ததெ உண்டானால் தம்பிரான் திருமனதிலே அறிவிச்சும்

- 32 கூடச் சொல்லியும் நாமும் கூடியும் குடிவாங்கியும் பாலயம் செய்யாமல் விலக்கிட்டு கொள்வொமாகவும் [1*] இந்தப்படிக்கு நாட்டுத்தானமாக நடந்துகொள்வொமாகவும் [1*] இதுக்கு யாதா மொருத்தர் நாட்டுத்தானத்தை அழிச்சு அகிதம்
- 33 நிருவிச்ச பெர்கள் கெங்கைக்கரையில் காரம்பசுவை கொன்ற தொஷத்திலே பொவாராகவும் நாட்டுக்காரியத்தைத் தானவாக நடத்தின பெர்கள் கெங்கைக்கரையிலே காரம்பசுவைத் தானம் செய்த பலத்தை அடைவா ராகவும் [11*]
- 34 இப்படி நாட்டுத்தானமாக நடந்து கொள்கிறதுக்க சுவாமி தானுமாலையபெருமான பெரிலாணை பூதலிங்கத்து பெரி லாணை தப்பாது [1*] இந்தப்படிக்கு ஒப்புரவு மொழிமாறு ஒலை எழுதிக்கொண்டோம் வடவகை தென்மீதி நாடமைந்து ஆறுமுகபெருமாள் எழுத்து [11*]

Translation.

On the 16th day of Kārttigai in the (Kollam) year 898, the residents of the two divisions (north and south) between Maṅgalam and Maṇakkudi, having met at Kaḍukkaraiyūr, the following resolution of union was written:—

As on account of the heavy taxes and the cruel treatment to which we were subjected till the *piśāṇam*-harvest of 895 M. E. (1720 A. D.), we of both the divisions, were forced to leave our fields uncultivated during both the *kār* and *piśāṇam* seasons in 896 M. E. (1721 A. D.) and retreat to the east of the mountains, the king (*tambirāṇ*) together with the Pōttimārs, Paṇḍālas and the members of the *svarūpam*, was pleased to camp at Bhūtappāṇḍi, and summoning the people of both the divisions before him, redressed all their grievances till the *piśāṇam*-crop of 96 (Kollam 896 = 1721 A. D.), gave a royal writ to all of us (to that effect), and as a mark of special favour presented us with a brass-drum, a horn, and a *ponḍi* (sword or club inlaid with silver). Another writ was also issued cancelling all coercive taxes such as *kōṭṭai-panam*, and *māttāl-panam* and acts of petty tyranny in the land, and authorising the levy of only the original imposts of *aṅjālī* and *mēlvāram*, and permitting the assembly of the *nāṭṭārs* of Nāñji-nāḍu to continue to exercise the original prerogatives that had been in their enjoyment from a long time.

Accordingly, when the assembly held an enquiry against those who had infringed its laws, as the sovereign ordered the destruction of two residents in each sub-division (*piḍāgai*) as a punishment on us;

as the members of the *svarūpam* and Śivaśaila-Mudaliar came with their cavalry and troops and pressed us hard for the payment of *aṅjālī*, *mēlvāram* and *kaṇḍuḷavu-pāṭṭam* on the *kār* and *piśāṇam* crops of 97 (Kollam 897);

as the sovereign himself levied (a tax of) thirty *panam* per *mā* on all lands including *dēvaḍānam*, *brahmadānam*, *kaṇḍuḷavu* and even on waste lands;

as another tax of 125 *panam* per *kōṭṭai* was also collected in opposition to the decisions of the assemblies from the poor ryots on even the half and quarter yields of the *kār*-crop of Kollam 898, though it was a complete failure in both the northern and southern divisions;

as they realised double the amount of *vāram* on lands which, according to the yield, could have been assessed at only half;

as a similar exaction in paddy was levied on the uncultivated lands in Nallūr and Villiparū;

as the officials of the king unjustly demanded *pāṭṭam* on all the small *kandulavu* lands in the villages of Anumakētanallūr and Vīraṇallūr, even though the sums had already been remitted and receipts obtained;

as the Daḷavāy sent his men to dun the immediate payment of *māṭṭāl-panam*, *kōṭṭaip-panam* and other imposts on the deeds which the king had already declared by entries in the accounts to be void;

as the government appropriated to itself those lands which had been entered (in the registers) as having been cultivated by the ryots;

as *pāṭṭam*-rent was demanded on *kāḍu*, *karai* and dry lands, on which the usual taxes had already been paid;

as one-fourth share was demanded on the *kār*-crop of 98 (Kollam 898);

as *kōṭṭaip-panam* was demanded unjustly on even the seed-bed lands, and as paddy-grain stored in houses, boiled rice, raw rice, gold, silver, bronze vessels, clothes etc. (of these ryots) were all confiscated (for non-payment of this tax);

as no measures were taken to redress these insufferable grievances in any way, even though seven *maḷavarāyamār* had been deputed to represent these facts to the king at Kalkulam, and the Pōttimars, Paṇḍālas and the members of the *Svarūpam* had also been informed of these troubles;

as Muttu-Pillai had attacked Darśanamkōppu with his horses and troops, blockading all the fourteen entrances (into it), making the cows and cattle to starve there for three days without drinking water, breaking the pots of the poor women who came to draw water, and looting the paddy and other grain stored in the houses;

and lastly, when the inhabitants in a body had migrated to Kaḍukkara, Muttu-Pillai and Chirrambalan-Paṇḍāram at the head of a hundred soldiers had surrounded us there demanding the payment of our dues on the spot, as we had to flee up the hills in terror when the four entrances of Kaḍukkara were closed and the whole village was plundered:—

all of us (*nāṭṭārs*) having assembled in the stone-maṇḍapa at Chempakārāmaṇ-puduvūr to the east of Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyapuram have passed these resolutions—namely,—

that the tax called *kōṭṭaip-panam* shall not be paid on the seed-bed lands;

that we shall bind ourselves to pay only the *añjāli* and the *mēlvāram* taxes, which had been existing previously on all our lands;

and that if *kōṭṭaip-panam* and *māṭṭāl-panam* be ordered to be paid on *dēvadānam* and *brahmadānam* lands over and above the usual *añjāli* and *mēlvāram* taxes, we (of both the *nāḍus*) will be prepared to meet in a body and resist the imposition by a united stand, and migrate to another place, even leaving the (partly) cultivated *pīsānam*-crop (behind).

While (matters are) thus, if any one—be he a *piḍāgaikkāraṇ*, or *ūrkkāraṇ*,—were to betray the proceedings of this assembly, by receiving some bribes (say, ten

paṇam) or submit to the payment of the unjust taxes, he shall be answerable both in person and with his property.

When we have migrated elsewhere insisting on our rights and privileges, we will demand fit retribution for the high-handed death of the *ambalakkāraṇ* (village-chiefs).

When we are thus in power, no *ambalakkāraṇ* from our division, shall be allowed to be employed as revenue-farmers;

and if the government should cause any loss by confiscation from any *pidāgai*, village or the house of any individual, this shall be made good from our common funds.

If in the period of our succession, any one happens to be found in the village and is caught by the officials, we will not compensate for his losses; but he shall be answerable to us along with his effects and relations.

We will demand reparation for the damages of the two houses in each of the three sub-divisions, which was unjustly sanctioned by the king, when formerly we (the assembly) had exercised our legitimate powers, and that, if the government does not make good the loss in this matter, we shall meet it from our common funds.

When we have sworn in the assembly not to make certain payments, if any person from the two divisions (of *Nāñji-nāḍu*) serve as an accountant under the government, write up accounts, or compromise our affairs, he shall be made to suffer by forfeiting his property.

Thus, while according to these happenings, the government have granted (us) an order (respecting our prerogatives), and we have also decided among ourselves in full council, if anybody take up arms and serve on the other side, he shall pay a similar penalty and he who transgresses the laws and customs of his respective class, shall be also similarly punished.

If the king's army be encamped in our territory, we shall represent the matter before the king, and will by joint effort by preparing to emigrate elsewhere, see that the military camps are removed.

Thus shall we conduct ourselves according to the standing rules of our assembly.

If any person attempt to dissolve our union, he shall incur the accursed sin of having butchered a cow on the banks of the Ganges; on the other hand, the person who tries to consolidate our union shall reap the supreme benefit of having given a cow to a brahman on the banks of the same river (Ganges).

Promising to act thus unsweringly so as to preserve the rights of our assembly, we swear in (the names of) the gods *Tānumāliya-perumāḷ* and *Bhūta-liṅgam*.

Thus for having written this unshakeable bond of union, on behalf of the inhabitants of the north and south divisions (of *Nāñji-nāḍu*), this is the signature of *Ārumuga-Perumāḷ*.

No. 79—Olai-document of Kollam 899.

- 1 கிழக்கு நின்னும் இராணுவங் குதிரையும் வந்து நாஞ்சிராட்டில் இத்தங்காட்டு வெளியில் பாலயம் செயிது சுசீந்திரத்து ஆற்றினு கிழக்கு வழக்கம்பாறையிலும்
- 2 பாளையமுஞ் செய்து இரணியசிங்ஙநல்லூரில் வீரவிளையில் பாளையமுஞ் செயிது இருந்து நாஞ்சிராட்டிலே மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை தளிசங்கெதம் உள்ப்பட கருமக்கெடு வருக-
- 3 கொண்டு யெண்ணூற்றுத் தொண்ணூற்று ஒன்பதாமாண்டு பசானம் மெல்வாரம் பாட்ட உபையம் பலிசை உள்ப்பட்ட வகைக்கு கொட்டைக்கு கால் கலிவாகவும் கற்பித்தமைக்கு
- 4 யெண்ணூற்றித் தொண்ணூற்று ஒன்பதாமாண்டு
- 5 ஆணிமாதம் இருபதாந் தெயிதி கற்பித்தமைக்கு வடவகை தென்விதி நாடமைந்த பெர்க்கு நீட்டு
- 6 திருவுள்ளமாய நீட்டு [11*]

Translation.

As, on account of the troops and cavalry from the east which were encamped on the plains near Īttāṅkāḍu in Nāñji-nāḍu, near Valukkampārai to the east of the river at Suchindram, and on the Vīravilāi in Irāṇiyāsiṅganallūr, the *sankētam* lands of temples etc. have suffered damages, and we, (the king), have remitted one-fourth on every *kōṭṭai* (of tax) of *mēlvāram*, *pāṭṭam*, *ubhāyam-paliśai* on the *paśānam* crops of the year eight hundred and ninety-nine, this is the order which we were pleased to issue to those of the north and southern divisions (of Nāñji-nāḍu) on the 20th day of the month of the Kollam year 899.

No. 80—Olai document of Kollam 900.

- 1 கிழக்கு நின்றும் அரமணையார் வகை இராணுவங் குதிரையும் கொண்டு அழகப்பன் முதலி கா ஹி தை மீ இருபத்திரண்டாந் தெயிதி முதல் வைகாசி மீ உடுருவ வரை
- 2 திருப்பதிகாரத்திலும் பெருவளையிலும் தெருசரங்கொப்பிலும் புலியூர்க்குறிச்சி பிலாவிளையிலும் இரணியசிங்ஙநல்லூர் கிழக்கே பிறத்து சாலியன்விளையிலும் பாலயம்
- 3 செயிது படை கொருக் கொண்டும் நாஞ்சிராட்டில் மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை படை வருக கொண்டு முன்னாள் எண்ணூற்று தொண்ணூற்று ஏழாமாண்டு
- 4 கார் முதல் தொள்ளாயிரமாண்டு கார் வரை பெரும்பற்று தமிழ்சங்கெதம் உள்ப்பட்ட வகைக்கு மெல்வாரம் பாட்டம் உபயம் பலிசை அளந்து நீக்கி ஒள்ள குடிச்சிகை
- 5 எற்பெர்ப்பட்டதும் டெத்து துழாயிரமாண்டு பிசானம் தொருப சனங்ஙள் தளிச்சங்கெதம் உள்ப்பட்ட வகையில் மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரைக்கு ஒள்ள வகையில் (stops here).

Translation.

As Alagappan-Mudali was encamped with the royal troops and cavalry of Aramanaiyār (Nāyaka kings) from the 22nd of Tai to the 25th of Vaikāsi at

Peruvilai in Tiruppatisāram, Darsanamkōppu, Pilāvīlai in Puliyūrkuṛichchi and the eastern Śāliyaṇvīlai at Iraniyaśiṅganallūr, and as there was fighting in Nāñjinādu from Maṅgalam to Maṇakkūḍi, the balance of taxes *mēlvāram*, *pāṭṭam*, *ubhaiyam palīśai* which was not measured from the *kār* (harvest) of the year 897 to the *kār* (harvest) of the year 900 on the *perumparru* and *talī-saṅkētam* lands, was remitted; and from the *piśanam* season of 900, the *saṅkētam* lands from Maṅgalam to Maṇakkūḍi

No. 81—A Telugu copper-plate of Queen Minakshi: Saka 1660.

The subjoined Telugu inscription is engraved on both sides of a single sheet of copper-plate measuring $8" \times 5\frac{1}{2}"$, with a circular projection 1" in diameter in the middle of the top. The document is in the possession of a Muhammadan family residing at Trivandrum. It was kindly sent for my examination by Mr. M. C. Narayana Pillai, B. A., Hony. Magistrate of Trivandrum, and I edit it with the help of the ink-impressions, that were prepared under my supervision.

The record which is dated on a Friday, the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the Māgha month in the Śaka year 1660, Kālayukti, whose English equivalent is, according to the *Indian Ephemeris*, A. D. 1739, Friday, February 9, '47, '27, belongs to the time of the dowager-queen Mīnākshī of Madura. It registers the royal gift to a Muhammadan fakir named Imām-Sāhib of some lands in Śīvalappēri *alias* Muddu-Vēṅkaṭalakshmīpati-bhūpāla-samudram in the Tinnevely District, which, according to this record, was comprised in the Tiruvaḍi-rājya (or the Travancore dominion), while the latter is said to have formed part of the Trichinopoly-Madura-samsthānam, which has been bestowed on the Nāyaka dynasty by the Vijayanagara kings.

The preamble of the inscription gives the following meagre genealogy, contenting itself with the preliminary mention of the name of Viśvanātha-Nāyaka, the founder of the Madura Nāyaka dynasty, and those of the husband of the queen-donor and of his two immediate predecessors on the Madura throne.

Viśvanātha-Nāyaka of the Kāśyapa-gōtra.

|
Chokkanātha-Nāyaka
|
Raṅgākṛishṇa-Mudduvīrappa
|
Vijaya-raṅga-Chokkanātha
|
His Queen
Mīnākshammagāru.

A summary of the short reign of this queen, the last representative of the Madura Nāyaka dynasty, will be of interest.

Soon after the death of Vijaya-raṅga-Chokkanātha (A. D. 1706-32) in February 1732,¹ his eldest queen Mīnākshī assumed the reigns of government

1 *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, (R. Satyanatha Ayyar, 1924) p. 230.

with the help of her brother Veṅkaṭaperumāl-Nāyaka¹; and, being childless, she adopted Vijayakumāra, a member of the younger branch of the royal family. But Bhaṅgāru-Tirumala, the natural father of the adopted prince, claimed the right to the throne to himself; and this unfortunate dissension between these two rival claimants afforded a good opportunity to the Nawab of Arcot, who had been waiting for some plea for a southern invasion. Constituting himself as an arbitrator and seconded by Chandā-Sahib, Safdar Ali Khan, the son of the Arcot Nawab, marched on Trichinopoly and decided in favour of Bhaṅgāru's title to the succession. But a heavy bribe of a crore of rupees offered by Mīnākshī bought off to her side the wily Chandā-Sahib, who had been left behind to enforce the Nawab's orders; and for the time being, the queen was left in undisputed possession of Trichinopoly. Soon after in about A. D. 1736, Chandā-Sahib returned to Trichinopoly and posing as the queen's partisan defeated Bhaṅgāru-Tirumala at Anmaināyakkannūr. Taking advantage of her helpless condition, he also abrogated all the power to himself and imprisoned her in her own palace. The unfortunate queen realising, when too late, the sequel of her own folly in having quarrelled with her kinsman and in having trusted the Muhammadan adventurer, took poison and died in her prison.² As Bhaṅgāru was, sometime later in about A. D. 1746, presumably poisoned by Anvar-ud-din, and as his son Vijayakumāra was hounded from place to place and had to find an ignominious asylum with some loyal polegars, the Madura dynasty may fitly be considered to have terminated with Queen Mīnākshī.

The date of the queen's death is mentioned to have been A. D. 1736³, while Mr. Rangachari says it was A. D. 1737⁴. But the present record, if it is genuine, shows that queen Mīnākshī may have been living as late as the 9th February 1739, which is nearly three months prior to the date of her demise, as given in the *Maduraittalavaralāru*.⁵

Although some of her predecessors and some Rannad Sūtupatis had made similar⁶ endowments to Muhammadan religious institutions, Mīnākshī's donation to the fakir, Imām-Sāhib, has the additional significance of indicating her complete subservience to Chandā-Sāhib and the influence wielded by him in her court.

Śivallappēri *alias* Muddu-Vēṅkaṭalakshmīpati-bhūpāla-samudram, wherein the lands were situated, is a village in the Nanguneri taluk of the Tinnevely District, and must have in those days formed part of the Travancore dominions. The Travancore kings had extended their kingdom to the other side of the Ghats in the first half of the 7th century of the Kollam era, and though they were dispossessed of these tracts by Mafuz-Khan and others, the district of Kaḷak-kāḍ was finally ceded to them in A. D. 1760 by the Nawab, through the intervention of the East India Company.⁷ Gōvindappayya, the father of the Secretary

1 Mr. Rangachari mentions two brothers Vēṅkaṭa Nāyaka and Perumal Nāyaka—*Ind. Ant.* 1917, p. 1917 and the *History of the Nayaks of Madura* (R. S. Ayyar) may be referred to.

2 For a fuller account of this queen's chequered reign, Nelson's *Madura Manual*, *Ind. Ant.*, for 1917 and the *History of the Nayaks of Madura* (R. S. Ayyar) may be referred to.

3 *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, p. 234, n. 3.

4 *Ind. Ant.* 1917, p. 213.

5 *Maduraittalavaralāru*, p. 6.

6 cf. *Severell's Antiquities*, Vol. II.

7 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 379.

(*rāyasam*) Śivarāmayya who wrote this document, was one of the two generals of Queen Mīnakshī who took part in the battle of Ammaiyānāyakkanūr in which Bhaṅgāru-Tirumala was defeated.

Although the Vijayanagara dynasty, hemmed in as she was by her enemies and recalcitrant viceroys on all sides and dismembered to a fragment of her original greatness by various vicissitudes of fortune, had disappeared from South Indian politics as an imperial power with the death of the last sovereign Śrīraṅga III in about A. D. 1676,¹ it is noteworthy that as late as A. D. 1739, the Madura queen acknowledges the suzerainty of a king called Śrīrāyala-dēvuniṅṅāru. Two other copper-plate documents of this queen dated in Ś. 1654 and Ś. 1655 refer to a Veṅkaṭadēvarāya as the overlord, while two more records of a chief called Kāmākshi-Nāyaka, dated in Ś. 1661 and Ś. 1663, mention the names of Rāmarāya and Śrīraṅgarāya, as the suzerains at the time. It is therefore possible that the Śrīrāyala-dēvuniṅṅāru is a scribe's error for Śrī [rāma]rāyala-dēvuniṅṅāru, the medial 'rāma' having been omitted by mistake.

The subjoined table gives the names of the Madura Nāyakas of the 17th century of the Śaka era and those of their suzerains, which have been mentioned in their copper-plate documents. As the Madura Nāyakas, who were originally the Viceroys of the Vijayanagara kings in their far southern dominions, had asserted their independence by the time the imperial dynasty came to a close with the death in about A. D. 1678, of Śrīraṅga III, the last of the Vijayanagara kings of the Karṇāṭa line, the fact, that the later Nāyaka rulers still continued to refer to some suzerains, has no more significance than the perpetuation of a time-honoured but superseded political terminology. But as these quotations of the names of the overlords are consistent, it looks likely that some powerless scions of the family continued to nurse their atrophied greatness in some corner, and that the Madura Nāyakas continued their expressions of verbal loyalty to these innocuous representatives of the once powerful imperial house.

Sewell No.	Śaka date.	Madura Nāyakas and Chiefs.	Vijayanagara suzerains.	Remarks.
20	1600	Muttu-Aḷakādri	Śrīraṅga III or IV?	
168	1622	Do.	Narasimha (Ghanagiri)	The date Ś. 1622 is wrong, as the Nāyaka had died in A. D. 1689.
53	1614	Maṅgammāl	Śrīraṅga (Kanakagiri)	Vijayaraṅga was prince at Madura at the time.
...	1623	Do.	Veṅkaṭadēva (Ghanagiri)	No. 3 of 1911 (M. E. R.)
110	1628	Do	Do. (Ghanagiri)

1 *Introduction to the History of Nāyaks*, p. 27.

Sewell No.	Śaka date.	Madura Nāyakas and chiefs.	Vijayanagara suzerians.	Remarks.
...	1630	Vijayaraṅga-Chokkanātha	Do. (Ghanagiri)	No. 4 of 1915 (M. E. R.)
50	1638	Do.	Śrīraṅga (Ghanagiri)
109	1646	Do.	Mahādēvarāya (Ghanagiri)	The proper name of the king appears to have been omitted.
44	1649	Do.	Veṅkaṭadēva (Kannakāma) Ghanagiri?	Veṅkaṭavēma (Sewell, II. 44) is evidently a misreading for Veṅkaṭadēva.
33	1651	Do.	Śrīraṅgarāya	...
49	1654	Mīnakshī	Veṅkaṭadēva (Ghanagiri)	...
...	1655	Do.	Do. (Ghanagiri-nagara)	Sewell, I. 267. No. 71. (Sewell II. 9) mentions a chief Veṅkaṭapati (A. D. 1733).
...	1660	Do.	Śrīrāyadēva	The present record.
43	1661	Kāmākshi-Nāyaka	Rāmarāya	...
1	1663	Do.	Śrīraṅgarāya	...
60	1665	Do.	Veṅkaṭarāya	...
48	1713	Vijaya-Veṅkṭāchala Reddi	Veṅkṭapatidēva (Ghanagiri)	...
45	1714	Do.	Do.	...
46	1715	Do.	Do.	...

Text.¹

First side.

- 1 Svasti śrī [*] Vijayābhyudaya Śalivāhana Śakābdam-
- 2 bbulu 1660 Prabhavādi samvatsarambbulu 51² mī-
- 3 daṭan-āgunēti Kālayukti-nāna samvatsaram Mā-
- 4 kha śu³ 12 Śukravāramunu Punarvasū-nakshatramu-

1 From ink-impressions prepared under my supervision.

2 Engraved below the line.

3 A letter like *da* is engraved below *śu*, so as to make *suddha*.

5 unu śubhayōga śubhakaraṇamunnu kūḍina śubha-dina-
 6 maṇḍdu śrīmat-Kāśyapa-gōtra-jātulaina Madhura-sam-
 7 sthānādhipati Viśvanātha-Nāyanayyavāri vaṁśamaṁ-
 8 ddu jātulaina Chokkanātha-Nāyanayyavāri pautru-
 8 laina Raṅggaḥṛiṣṇa-Muddu-Vīrappa-Nāyanayyavāri pu-
 10 trulaina Vijayaṅga-Chokkanātha-Nāyanayyavāri
 11 paṭṭamahishī aina Śrī-Mīnākshammagāru pakiri-guruvu-
 12 lu Imām-¹Śāyibuku ichchina tāṁra-śāsana kra-
 13 mam eṭṭannanu [i*] Śrīman Mahāmamḍḍalēśvara mahā-
 14 rāja rājamakuṭōpalālita akhamḍḍita-sām-
 15 mrāja-lakshmī-nivāsa-bhūtadēva-mahārājulaina
 16 Śrīrāyalu-dēvunivāru māku pālīnchchi ichchi-
 17 na Tiruchanāpallē-Madhura-samsthānamamḍdu Tiru-
 18 vaḍi-rājyāna Tinnevellitō chērina Śīvallappē-
 19 riki pratināmamaina Muddu-Vēṅkkaṭalakshmīpati-bhū-
 20 pāla-samudramulō Peddacheruvu kiṁḍda tūrupu
 21 maḍava² nīḷlu pārē tūrupu-keṭṭa³ mūḍō-kaṇṇ[ā]⁴-
 22 rulōnu kaṭṭa śekharamugānu kaiyyalu 9 ṭki⁵
 23 vittanam kōṭa 1-nni Tinneveli-pyāṭa ⁶sūkamu-
 24 lō dinam 1-ki telupulu ki 2 lekha aḍittum-
 25 ḍḍu rūkalunnu i-raṁḍḍu mānyamulunnu pa-
 26 kiri-guruvulu Imām-Sāyibuku śudha sarva-
 27 mānyamugā kaṭṭaḍa jēśi tāmmra-śāsana[mu-
 28 nnu] vrāśi ichchināramu [i*] ganka ī ⁷kōṭaḍu [vi-
 29 ttana]mulō kaligina nidhi-nikshēpa-⁸jala-taru-

Second side.

30 pāshān-ākshiny-āgāmya-siddha-sādhyamu-
 31 laniyēdi aṣṭa-bhōga-tēja-svāmyamula sa-
 32 hitamugānu putra-⁹pautra-pāraparyamugānu
 33 Śrī Mīnākshamma vrālu¹⁰
 34 āchandrārka-sthāyigānu dānādi-vini-
 35 maya-vikrayamulakunnu yōgyamugā-
 36 nu ī-bhūmi kōṭēḍu vittanamunakunnu ī-
 37 aḍittumḍḍu dinam 1-ki telpulu ki 2 kinni i-
 38 dē tāmmra-śāsanamugā kaṭṭi vumchchukoni

1 Śā looks like nā.

2 This occurs in the Tamil portion as *līl-maḍai-ppāchchalil*.

3 Read *kaṭṭa* as in other places.

4 *nā* looks like *nī*.

5 The Tamil portion gives *செட்டி* *ṣeṭṭi*.

6 Read *sūkamu*.

7 Read *kōṭēḍu*.

8 *ja* is engraved below the line.

9 *pau* is not clear in the impression and looks like *pā*.

10 This is the sign-manual of the Queen.

- 39 sukhāna anubhaviṃchukonēdi [*] yī dharmāna -
 40 ku yevvamḍainān-ēmi vighātamū chēstē vā-
 41 ṁdu brahma-kshatriya-vaiśya śūdra-varṇamu-
 42 lalōni-vāṁḍ-aitē Kāsilōnu brahma-hatya
 43 gō-hatya mātru-pitru-hatya chēśiṇa pāpā-
 44 na pōgalavāṁḍu [*] turukavāṁḍ-aitē murudāru¹ pā-
 45 pāna pōgalavāṁḍu [*] ī-kramānaku rāyasam Gō-
 46 viṁddappayya komāruṁdu Śivarāmayya vrāśiṇa
 47 tāmra-śāsanamu [*] Dānapālanayōr-madhyē dānā-
 48 chchreyō-nupālanam dānāt-svargam-avāpnōti
 49 pālanād-achyutām padam [*]
 50 கைத்தடி சிவலப்பெரியில் கீனமடை-
 51 ப்பாச்சலில் கீனகட்டளையில்² நல் உஞ செ
 52 தடி கஉ ச மீ உ உரி- நஞ் தடி உ உ உ உரி
 53 சஞ் தடி உ உ உ வறு எஉ நஞ் நுஞ் தடி ந-
 54 சுமீ நுஉ- சுஞ் தடி க உ உ ச மீ உரி
 55 ஆக நல் தடி கூக்கு உஉ க னு—

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity !

In the year 1660 of the glorious Śalivāhana Śaka era, which was the year Kālayukti, when 51 years had elapsed in the cycle of years beginning with Prabhava, on a Friday, the 12th of the bright fortnight of the Māgha month, which had Punarvasu-nakshatra, subha-yōga and subha-karāṇa— on this auspicious day, the following is the copper-plate record which we, śrī-Mīnākshammagaru, the senior queen (*paṭṭamahishī*) of Vijayarāṅga-Chokkanātha-Nāyanayyavāru, son of Raṅgākṛishṇa-Muttuvīrappa-Nāyanayyavāru, and grandson of Chokkanātha-Nāyanayyavāru, born in the dynasty of Viśvanātha-Nāyanayyavāru of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, the lord of Madhura-samsthāna, gave to *Pakiri-guruvu* Imām-Sāyibu.

In the Tiruchanāpallē-Mathura kingdom, which Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Śrī-rāyadevunivāru, the great king who is the abode of goddess Lakshmi of uninterrupted prosperity and who is (*i. e.* whose feet are) carassed by the diadems of kings, has been pleased to bestow on us, in Śivalappēri *alias* Muddu-vāṅkatalakshmiṇipati-bhūpāla-samudram in (the) Tinneveli (Dt.) which is comprised in Tiruvaḍi-rājya, we gave as pure *sarvamānya* to *Pakiri-guruvulu* Imām-Sāyibu, the following two

nine bits of land under the third sluice of the eastern *kaṭṭa* fed by the channel flowing on the eastern side of the Peddacheruvu (big tank), having a sowing capacity aggregating to 1 *kōṭa* of (paddy) seed and two ³white *rūka* from the tolls⁴-collection(?) of the Tinneveli-pēṭa and gave a written document on copper.

1 The meaning of this item of sin is not understood.

2 The sowing capacity of the nine pieces of land are given in symbols.

3 *Telupulu* appears to refer to some *silver* coins, specified by *rūkaḷu*.

4 *Sukumu* which appears to be a mistake for *Sunkumu*, refers to the 'tolls collection' of Tinneveli-pēṭah, from which the fakir had to be paid 2 *rūkaḷu* daily.

Therefore, for this land of 1 *kōṭa* (sowing capacity) together with the eight-fold objects of income, namely, treasure-trove, water-source, trees, rock, *akṣuṇi*, *āgāmi*, the accomplished and the accomplishable, contained in it, and the *aḍittuṇḍu* of two white *ki*¹ (coins) per day which shall be enjoyed in the line of succession of sons and grandsons and as long as the moon and sun exist, and which shall be eligible for disposal by mortgage or by sale.—this shall be considered as the copper-plate document.

If any one raise any impediment to this charity,—if he is of the caste brahma, kshatriya, vaiśya or śūdra, he shall incur the sin of having killed brahmans, cows and one's own mother and father; if he is a turukka (Muhammadan), he shall incur the *murudāru*² sin.

For this transaction, this is the copper-plate document written by the *rāya-sam* (secretary) Śivarāmayya, son of Gōvindappayya.

Of the two acts—charity and its protection—the maintenance of a charity is more meritorious than the charity itself: he who bestows a gift obtains *svarga* (temporary beatitude), but he who protects a charity attains the very abode of Achyuta.

[ll. 50-55: Tamil portion]—The pieces of land in Śivilappēri irrigable by the eastern sluice channel in the eastern *kaṭṭalai* and under the third sluice are:—

		<i>marakkāl</i>	<i>nāḷi</i>	<i>uri</i>
the second field (<i>sey</i>) one <i>taḍi</i> (in extent and having				
	the sowing capacity) of	4	1	1
the third <i>sey</i> , two <i>taḍi</i>	“ “	3	1	1
the fourth <i>sey</i> , two <i>taḍi</i>	“ “	2	7	1½
the fifth <i>sey</i> , three <i>taḍi</i>	“ “	6	5	.
the sixth <i>sey</i> , one <i>taḍi</i>	“ “	4	.	1
in all, land nine <i>taḍis</i> (in extent and having the sowing capacity) of one <i>kōṭṭai</i> and one <i>uḷakku</i> (of paddy-seed).				

No. 82—Copper-plate grant of Mafuz-Khan: Saka 1666.

The subjoined record is engraved in Tamil and Hindustani characters on both sides of a single sheet of copper-plate, which is in the possession of a Muhammadan at Trivandrum. It was secured for me on a short loan by Mr. M. C. Narayana Pillai, B. A., and from the ink-impressions prepared therefrom, the inscription is edited below. For the decipherment and translation of the Hindustani portion, I am indebted to Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, M. A., Director of Archaeology of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad.

The record is dated in Śaka 1666, corresponding to A. D. 1745, March 29, and relates to the gift of the *kuttakai* rent from *Aripputturai* in the Tinnevely Dt. amounting to 78 *rēkhai-pon*, which was ordered to be paid over in

1 *ki* seems to be a contraction of the name of the coin.

2 This is not understood.

twelve monthly instalments of 6 *pon* and 5 *panam* per month to a Muhammadan priest Miyān Sheik Ahmad-Kabīr, son of Hazarat Miyān Imām-Sāhib. At the time of the record, Tinnevely has been described as

அயதராபாது சுபையுடனே சேர்ந்த ஆற்காடு திருச்சிராப்பள்ளிச் சமைஸ்தானத்தில் தெட்டினராச்சியம் திருநெல்வேலி,

i. e., as the southern governorship of the Ārkāḍu-Trichinopoly kingdom which was in its turn a *subah* (dependency) of the Hyderabad dominions.

The donor was Mahfūz Khān, son of Muhammad AnvardiKhān-Bādar, Nawab of Arcot (A. D. 1744-49) and the Anvar-ud-din of Indian history who was killed in the battle of Āmbūr in A. D. 1749. Mahfūz-Khān was apparently the governor of Madura at that time, and his sphere of influence must have extended to the Tinnevely district also. Four years later he was imprisoned by the French at Ambur, and, though the eldest son of his father, he left his claims to be superseded by the second son Muhammad-Āli, the ally of the English East India Company, and was content to continue as governor of Madura. His final revolt against the Nawab of Arcot and his successive defeats at the hands of the Travancore kings Balumārttāṇḍa (1729-58) and Rāmavarman (1758-98) are events of later history, subsequent to the date of this copper-plate document.

Makkam is of course Mecca, the holy place of pilgrimage of the Muhammadans, Kālīma is the second formula of the Muhammadan faith, and Kandiri is said to be a feast observed by them.

Text.¹

First side.

- 1 உ சவஸ்தி திறி சாலிவாகனசகாதத்தம் நுகரா -
- 2 கூயுசு ன்மெல்ச் செல்லாசின்ற கொல்லம்² கூாஉயி-
- 3 ன்ரு + மெ, தன ன்ரு சித்திரை மீ க தி சக்குறவாரமுர். ந-
4 றுவபட்டைத்துச் சத்தமியும் புணர்பூச நட்செத்திர -
- 5 மும் பெத்த சுபயொக சுபகறண சுபதினத்தில் மீ -
- 6 கி சுகலகுண சம்பன்னரான மகாமெருசுமரன -
- 7 தீரரான ராசமானிய ராசஷத்திரி அசரத்து கிடிலெ ந -
- 8 வாபுசாயபு மகமது அன்வர்திகான் பாதர் குமாரர்
- 9 ம மமது பாபுசுக்கரானவர்கள் குருக்கள் அசரது மியா
- 10 இமாமு சாயபு அவர்கள் குமரர் மீயா செரு அம்மது காரீர்
- 11 அபர்களுக்கு அரிப்புத்துறைக்கு தாம்பிரசாதனம் எரு -
- 12 தக் குடுத்த பிறமானாவது [1*] அயதராபாதுச் சுபை -
- 13 யுடனெ செர்ந்த ஆற்காடு
- 14 திருச்சிராப்பள்ளிச் சு -
- 15 மைஸ்த்தானத்தில் தெட் -
- 16 டினராச்சியம் திருநெ -
- 17 ல்லெலியில் அரமனைக்க -
- 18 ரை வரசலுடனெ செ[ர*]ந்த
- 19 அரிப்புத்துறைக் குத்தகை ன்ரு கக்கு ரெகை ன்ரு எயு
- 20 க்கு [தவணை] யுட ஆக மீ கக்கு தவணைக்கு ன்ரு கூ ஸும் வீ -

1 Registered as No. 1 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1099 M. E.

2 The English equivalent of date is A. D. 1745, March 29, Friday.

3 The Hindustani portion marked A occurs here.

- 21 தம் உள்ள பணம் அசராது மீயா செகு அம்மது க-
 22 பீர் சாயபு அவர்களுக்கு யினுமாக விட்டுக்குந்-
 23 த்துச் சறுவமானிபமா க் கட்டினாயிட்ட-
 24 படியினாலெ யிந்த அரிப்புத்துறையை
 25 புத்திர பவுத்திர பாரம்பரியமாக ஆச்சத்திரா-
 26 க்கம் B.¹
 27 சைய்யாடி-
 28 க்கொண்டு அனுபவிச்சுக் கொண்டு வருவார்-
 29 களாவு : [1*] இந்தப்படிக்கு யிப்பொது இந்-
 30 ககிற தெஃரதிபதியும் இனிரெல் வநகிறவர்-
 31 களும் இந் ப்படிக்கு நடத்திவிச்சுக்கொண்-
 32 டு வருவார்களாகவும் [1*] சீதுக்கு யாதா மொ நுவர்

Second sile.

- 33 இந்து மொம சத்திரிய [வைசிய]-
 34 குத்திர யிந்த நாலு வன்னத்திலு-
 35 ள்ப்பட்ட பெர் விதாதம் பண்ணினு-
 36 ல் காசியில் கெங்கைக் கரையில்
 37 பொல்லாத சொரூமன பாவம் பண்-
 38 ணின தொஷத்திலெ பெவார்களாக-
 39 வும் [1*] முசலுமான் என்னப்பட்ட கலிபா-
 40 வுக்கு உள்ப்பட்ட பெர் விதாதம் பண்-
 41 ணினால் மக்கத்திலெ பொல்லாத கொ-
 42 ரூமன பாவம் பண்ணின தொஷத்தி-
 43 லெ பெவார்களாகவும் [1*] இந்தத் தற்-
 44 மகாரியம் பரிபாலனமாக நடத்திவி-
 45 ச்சு வந்தவர்களுக்கு முசலுமான் என்னப-
 46 பட்டவர்களுக்கு மக்கத்திலெ ஆயிரம் அச்சுச் செ-
 47 ய்க நன்மையும் பெத்து ஆயிரம் கந்திரி செய்த நன்-
 48 மையும் பெறுவார்களாகவு [1*] யிற்க தற்மத்திலெ
 49 நாலு வன்னத்திலு உள்ப்பட்ட பெர் காசியிலெ கெங்-
 50 கைக்கரையிலெ ஆயிரம் அகவமெ[த*] யாகம் பண்-
 51 ணின புண்ணிய மும் பெத்து ஆயிரம் சஷத்திற பெர்-
 52 சனம் பண்ணிவிச்ச புண்ணியமும் பெறுவார்களாகவும்
 53 யிப்படிக்கு யிந்த அரிப்புத்துறைக்கு தாமதிரசா-
 54 தனம் எளுக்கி குறித்தொம அசராது மீயா இமாமு
 55 சாயபு அவர்களுக்கு நவாபு மகம்மது மாபூக்கான் சாயபு அ-
 56 வர்கள் [1*] இந்தச் சாதனம் எளுக்கினெ திருநெல்-
 57 வெலி நாட்டுக் கணக்கு கந்தசுவாமி உவ

Translation.

In the year 1666 (expired) of the Sālīvāhana-Sāka era, which was the cyclic year Krōdhana and Kollam 920, on Friday, the 1st day of the month of Chitirai, which was one of saptamī(-tithi) of the first fortnight with Punarpūsam-(nakshatra) - on this day, in śubha-yōga and śubha-karṇa, the following copper-

1 The Hindustani portions marked B and C occur here.

plate document relating to Aripputturai was engraved and granted to Hazarat Miyā Shēku Ahmad Kabīr, son of Hazarat Miyā Imāmu-Sāhib, the *guru* of Muhammad Māfūz-Khān, the son of the illustrious Navāb-Sāhib, Muhammad Anavardi Khān-Bādar, who is endowed with all good qualities and who is like unto Mōru in his greatness.

We were pleased to bestow on Hazarat Miyā Shēku-Ahmad-Kabīr-Sāhib, as *imām*, the sum of 78 *rēkhai-pōṇ* per year, or in 12 instalments at the rate of 6 *rēkhai-pōṇ* and 5 *paṇam* per instalment each month, which was derivable from the Aripputturai lease in Aramaṇaikkarai-vāśal which is in Tinnevely, the southern dominion in the Arcot-Tirichirāpalli-samasthānam of the *subah* of Hyderabad; and we have declared it to be *sarvamānya*. This Aripputturai shall be enjoyed in the lineal succession of sons and grandsons and as long as the moon and the sun endure. The ruler who is now governing, and those who may come hereafter, shall have this gift conducted accordingly.

If any Hindu included in the four castes (*varṇa*) of *brahma*, *kshatriya*, *vaiśya* and *śūdra*, should cause obstruction to this (gift), he shall incur the sin of having committed some terrible crimes on the banks of the Ganges at Kāśi. If any one of the Mussalman sect under the Kalimā¹ obstruct (it similarly), he shall incur the sin of having committed heinous crimes at Mecca.

Of those who protect this deed of gift, a Mussalman shall obtain the merit of having performed a thousand *achchu*² at Mecca and of having performed a thousand *kandiri*²; and to him of the four castes shall accrue the merit of having performed a thousand *āsvamēdha* sacrifices on the banks of the Ganges at Benares, and of having fed a thousand (brahmans), a thousand times.

Thus did we, Navāb Muhammad Māfūz-Khān write the copper-plate charter relating to Aripputturai to Hazarat Miyā Imām-Sāhib².

I, Kandasvāmi, the accountant of Tinnevēli-nāḍu wrote this document.

Texts of the Hindustani portions.

A

Mutasaddiyāni hāl wa istaqbālī Ta 'lluqa Tīrnāopallī
bidānand ki har māh shash chakra
pañjah falm (?) maḥsulī arbkāranast darobast ḥasbu l-
ḥukm mablaghi mazkūr dar khidmati Miyān Ahmad Kabīr
nand (?) maḡarrar numūda shud: Bāyad ki maḥsulī
masṭūr māh bemāh bamushārun ilaih mī rasānīda
bāshand: Kī an ra muma-ilaih sarfi wajha ma 'ishat
karza badu 'āi daulatī abad muddat mashghul bashand.

1 *Kalimā*, *Achchu* and *Kandiri* are Hindustani terms.

2 Apparently Imām-Sāhib, the recipient of the gift in Śaka 1660 from Queen Minākshi was living in Śaka 1666, when his son Ahmad-Kabīr was granted the income on some lands by Māfūz-Khān.

A. This Hindustani portion has been engraved in the space against the lines 13-8 of the first side of the plate.

B. Do.

ll. 26-7 of the first side.

C. Do.

ll. 33-45 of the second side.

*Batarikh shashum shahri Rabi 'u'l-awwal
sann 1158 Hijri tahrir yāft.*

*Parwana Nawāb Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Sāhib wa Qibla
madda Zillahu 'l-'ālī. Dastkhaṭi Khāṣṣ.*

B

*Dar khidmati Miyān Aḥmad Kabīr maḥsūli arbkarān shash
chakra pañjā falm (or qalam) nazr numūda shud
az ghurrah Rabi 'u 'l-awwal sann 1158 Hijri.
Dastkhaṭi Khāṣṣ.*

C

*Sharḥ dastkhaṭi khāṣṣ Nawab Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān
Sāhib Qibla madda zillāhu 'l-'ālī: dar Khidmati Miyān
Aḥmad Kabīr maḥsūli arbkarān shash chakra pañjāh falm
nazr numūda shud:*

As Ghurrah Rabi 'u 'l-awwal 1158 H.

Nawishta Hākimu 'u'l-wagt Muḥammad Anwar Khān dāma iqbalahu.

A

The present and future officials of the Ta'lluqa of Tirunaopalli should know that every month the entire sum of six *chakra*, and five *pañam* on account of the revenue collected from the tenants, which under (royal) orders has been assigned to Miyān Aḥmad Kabīr Nand (or Shāh) be paid to him regularly (lit. from month to month), so that the aforesaid (Aḥmad Kabīr) maintain himself by the above endowment and pray for the everlasting prosperity of the State.

Written on the 6th of Rabi 'I, 1158 H. (1745 A. D.). Parwana issued by Nawab Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Sāhib Qibla, may God lengthen his high shadow (i. e. may he long remain the protector of people)!

B

For the service of Miyān Aḥmad Kabīr, the revenues amounting to 6 *chakra* and five *pañam* are assigned.

First of Rabi, 1158 H. (1745 A. D.). Special (Royal) signature.

C

Special signature of Nawab Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Sāhib madda zillāhu 'l-'ālī.

The revenue due from *Arbkarān*¹ (or Aripputturai—in the Tamil portion) amounting to six *chakras*, and five *pañam* is assigned for the service of Miyān Aḥmad Kabīr, with effect from the 1st of Rabi 'I 1158 H. (1745 A. D.)

Written by the Governor of the time, Muḥammad Anwar Khān, may his glory ever last!

1 Note by Mr. Yazdani—"The terms *Arbkarān*, *Chakra* and *Pañja-Qalam* (or *falm*) are not quite clear to me. *Arbkarān* (as far as I can guess) may mean tenants or cultivators." This term *Arbkarān* is found transcribed in the Tamil portion as *Aripputturai-kattakāi*, revenue which was granted as *inām* to the Muhammadan Fakir. As for *chakra*, it is the *rēkhai-poṇ* and the *pañja-falm* is five *pañam* (a *pañam* is 1/10th of a *rēkhai-poṇ*) of the Tamil portion.

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(Prepared by Mr. K. Sivaramakrishna Sastri)

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1 Figures refer to pages; and 'n' after a figure to foot notes. The following other abbreviations are used:—

ch = chief; cha = channel; co = country; di = district or division; do = ditto; dy = dynasty; f = female; k = king; m = male; mo = mountain; pl = place; ri = river; s. a. = same as; sur = surname; te = temple; vi = village or town.

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